

Principles of
**SECONDARY
EDUCATION**

NELSON L. BOSSING

Professor of Education
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

New York
PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

1949

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First Printing...February, 1949

Second Printing....August, 1949

Third Printing...December, 1949

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO

HELEN M. BOSSING

PREFACE

There has been a deep-seated conviction on the part of those responsible for the induction of the neophyte into the field of secondary education that the prospective educator should become fully aware of the nature of this institution of which he is to become so much a part. Consequently, students in training have been introduced quite generally to a course designed to acquaint them with the nature of the secondary school. This course has been variously labeled: Secondary Education, The Secondary School, American High School, or Principles of Secondary Education. The latter title, more than any other, seems to have implied more fully and consistently the fundamental nature of this course.

Three types of readers have been kept in mind in the preparation of this book. The first group has been the undergraduate with his foot on the first step of the stairway of his professional preparation—his first formal introduction to the field of secondary education and the institutions that carry forward adolescent education. In this group are to be found those preparing for secondary education in its many ramifications—teachers, administrators, supervisors, counsellors, and some destined to become teachers in a teacher training institution. The second group consists of educational workers in the field who may not have had the advantage of formal professional training but who wish to become acquainted with the modern theories of secondary education or to bring themselves up to date on the more recent developments in the field. The third group—the laymen—is made up of a growing number anxious to become informed on the unique developments taking place in secondary education and on the nature of the modern secondary school.

For two decades the author has been engaged in the induction of youth into a beginning course in secondary education.

PREFACE

He, with many of his colleagues, has had a growing conviction that this course provided a most welcome opportunity to insure to the novice a fundamental appreciation of the unique and important task of secondary education in our democratic society and to create a consciousness of professional pride in the American secondary school.

Throughout this book it has been the constant endeavor of the author to present such data as would help the reader to see the magnitude of the physical aspects of the program of secondary education as it now exists in America, and, even more, to help the reader sense the crucial nature of the educational task that belongs to the secondary school in our democratic society. For this reason the peculiar nature of the task of the secondary school in our culture has been stressed. The author believes that in this book more than in any other book that has appeared in this field to date the practical aspects of a democratic philosophy of life and education applied to the secondary school have been emphasized. The book is committed frankly to the modern functional conception of education. The democratic ideal of our society, on the one hand, and the recognition, on the other, of the central place of development of the individual's personality have been held at all times as the basic fundamentals in modern secondary education.

The book has been organized into four major areas in definite sequential relations of the areas to each other in their development. In the first part the secondary school is candidly viewed in the light of preconceived ideas brought to the profession by the neophyte. The secondary school is then objectively surveyed in terms of its present physical status. Part II is devoted to an effort to understand how our secondary school has become what it is, through a careful study of its antecedents and historical development. Throughout, the thesis is maintained that we are the product of our past, and that we can understand, appreciate, and intelligently modify only as we see the secondary school as a product of social evolution. Part III raises the fundamental question of what should be the task of secondary education within the framework of our democratic society. The answer to this question, of course, involves a full understanding of the nature of the adolescent learner, the na-

ture of our democratic society, and the peculiar nature of the task of education when these two factors are clearly taken into account. Part IV is devoted to a consideration of ways and means of bringing to fruition the task clearly envisioned in Part III.

The question-problems approach has been employed as a pedagogical device. The major ideas are cast into the form of problematic questions. This tends to sharpen the issues involved in every situation and conforms to modern conceptions of learning—that a mental problem situation is most conducive to learning.

The author is conscious of the many, remembered and unknown, to whom he is indebted for ideas and suggestions. More immediately is he aware of his obligations to those who have read critically all or parts of the manuscript of this book. For the use of quotations the author has made appropriate acknowledgments at different places throughout the book. To his many students whose reactions to phases of the subject within the class have stimulated his own thinking, and to those students who on numerous occasions have offered suggestions about the conduct of the course that have proved most helpful, the author is indeed grateful. Acknowledgment is here made more directly to Professor Theodore Brameld, New York University, Professor G. Lester Anderson, University of Minnesota, Professor Robert Beck, University of Minnesota, Professor Miles Cary, University of Minnesota, and Mr. Kenneth Hovet, assistant to the author, who have read parts or all of the manuscript, for valuable criticisms and suggestions offered. In fairness to all, however, the author accepts full responsibility for all ideas expressed in the pages of this book.

Nelson L. Bossing

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PART I

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

WHAT CRITICISMS ARE FREQUENTLY MADE OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL?

Criticism of our schools, particularly of the secondary schools, is a favorite indoor pastime. In books, magazines, and newspapers the school is held up to ridicule and scorn. From a full-dress book critique, such as Buchholz' *Fads and Fallacies in Present-Day Education*, to more frequent but less pretentious satires in periodicals, such as A. L. Crockett's widely read article, *Lollipops versus Learning*, the schools are the target of the critics. The screen, the radio, the theater, and the public platform, as well as the press, are media for the complaints of critics of the schools.

These criticisms cover the whole field of education. Many are contradictory: some insist that our schools are too academic and too far removed from the everyday problems of life; others stoutly maintain that our schools have not focused attention upon the time-honored fundamentals, have become lost in emphasis on trivialities, and have not maintained high enough standards. Some supporters of vocational education insist that the secondary school is devoting too little time to trade training which prepares the student to earn a living. Another group deplores an overemphasis upon narrow, "bread-and-butter" education to the gross neglect, in their eyes, of the need for general education for citizenship.

Students in teacher training classes have assembled and roughly classified the criticisms which are listed in the following pages as representative of some of the most common criticisms of the school.¹

¹It has been the practice of the writer to begin his class in the principles of secondary education by suggesting that the students try to collect all the criticisms

Criticisms of the curriculum

There is a lack of emphasis upon trade and vocational training.

The work of the school is not sufficiently related to contemporary life.

The schools should teach the time-honored subjects and not try to dabble in current political-economic-social issues.

Secondary schools do not emphasize an understanding of aesthetics sufficiently.

The high school gives inadequate preparation for students going on to college.

Small schools place too much emphasis on college preparatory courses.

High schools have too many frills and useless courses, and too many impractical subjects.

There is an inadequate choice of subjects in most high schools.

The high school offers too few how-to-study courses.

Not enough "critical thinking" is required in high school.

Too little emphasis is placed upon creative thinking and expression.

The opportunities in small high schools for specialized fields such as music and art are inadequate.

All students are required to do the same amount of work.

The curriculum of the high school is influenced too much by pressure groups.

Examinations do not test what they are supposed to test.

There is an overemphasis upon speed in high school.

Schools fail to care for failing students properly.

There is too little attention given to health in the high school.

The schools use too many outmoded textbooks.

History courses have been limited to detail rather than to generalizations, causations, and relationships.

they have heard, have read, or have made themselves. It has been found salutary to face frankly the many criticisms hurled at this institution of which these students are training to become a part while they are at the threshold of their professional education. The attempt to determine the validity of the criticisms has become both the springboard and the mainspring of the course.

Schools do not develop leadership abilities.
There is too little individualization of materials and method.
There is little sex education and preparation for marriage.

Teachers

There are too many poorly trained teachers.
Too many teachers use antiquated methods.
Teachers stay in one place too long.
There is too much mobility on the part of teachers.
Too many ancient teachers are in the profession.
There are too many young teachers in the profession.
There are many teachers with physical disabilities—hard of hearing, poor vision, extreme nervousness, ill health.
Teachers place too much emphasis upon grades.
There is a lack of uniformity in grades and standards set by different teachers.
Teachers are socially and emotionally maladjusted.
Teachers do not give enough attention to community and home environment of students.
Too many teachers are not professionally minded.
Teachers tend to fossilize on the job.
Teachers take too little part in community affairs.
Teachers' salaries are too high.
Teachers' salaries are too low.
Teachers are often unsympathetic to extracurricular activities.
Too many women and too few men teachers are in high schools.

Teacher-pupil relations

Too many teachers do not understand the students.
Many teachers play favorites.
Democracy is not allowed to function in the classroom.
Teachers often show no personal interest in students.
Teacher and pupil relations are often antagonistic.
Teachers often hold grudges against students.
Teachers are not fair in disciplining students.

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Teachers are too sarcastic with students.
Teachers tend to treat students like children.

Organization and administration

Students have too little choice in selection of courses.
The administration is too autocratic in its attitudes and methods.
There is little opportunity for student participation in school planning and government.
The average school has an inadequate guidance program.
Overcrowding of classes is common.
High school students are dominated by the faculty.
Students are not allowed to express themselves freely in the school paper.
The teachers are overworked.
The teachers are not allowed time to see students out of class.
The grading system is outmoded.
Athletics are overemphasized.
School procedures tend to encourage dishonesty.
Students are given too much freedom and not enough old-fashioned discipline.
Student activities are not properly supervised.
There is a lack of coordination between the elementary and secondary schools.
We have too many small schools.
Schools are inadequately staffed and overstaffed.
Too often there is a lack of cooperation between departments in the school.

Buildings and equipment

In most schools the school buildings are inadequate and improperly planned for desirable modern educational programs.
Inadequate library facilities predominate.
Lunchroom facilities are generally inadequate.
The quality and quantity of equipment in classrooms, shops, laboratories, and playgrounds handicap good education.

Schools have little up-to-date audio-visual equipment.
School buildings often have unhygienic sanitation, lighting, ventilation, and heating.

Community and state

The teacher's personal life is subject to too much community supervision.

Our school board system provides very poor leadership for the schools.

Schools suffer from too much/too little parental contact.

School funds are inadequate and unequally distributed.

Too much money is being spent on our schools.

There is too much/too little state control over schools.

America should not attempt to provide free secondary education.

This list of criticisms assembled by prospective teachers suggests the range and nature of the adverse and conflicting comment leveled at the school. These criticisms, although formidable in extent, are neither complete nor inclusive. They can readily be grouped in a few major categories.

1. The function and purposes of the secondary school.
2. The adequacy of the curriculum offerings.
3. The competency of the teaching staff.
4. The emphasis given in the school program.
5. Pupil-teacher-administrator relationships.
6. School-community relationships.
7. Administrative problems of the school.
8. Organizational problems of the school.
9. Financial problems.
10. Local-state administrative relationships.

It is interesting to compare this extended contemporary list with a summary of the major criticisms current around 1920:

1. The course of study is almost exclusively academic.
2. Many of the pupils, particularly boys, are sent from the school as failures "who either could not or would not apply themselves to a curriculum consisting mainly of memorizing textbooks."

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3. The curriculum has failed to enlist the interest of motor minded pupils because its relation to their lives is uncertain and remote.
4. Stress is laid on individualistic development, not on training for social betterment.
5. Student mortality is excessive and inexcusable.
6. Students who spend only a year or two in the school often have no superiority in efficiency in the practical affairs of life over the grammar school graduate.
7. The boy who enters practical life after completing the high school course finds that his four years have given him little that is useful.
8. The culture acquired in high school is too often a haze which evaporates in thin air.
9. Almost all the high school graduate really has is a residuum of mental discipline which, at its best, functions in a habitual persistence.
10. Habits detrimental to both culture and discipline are often formed.
11. The boy who goes to college seems to be the only one that the course of study really helps, and it is questionable whether either he or the community profits by the expensive gift bestowed upon him.
12. If the service of the school to the boys is vague and uncertain, its practical value for most girls approaches absolute zero.
13. Ideals of "getting by" dominate in altogether too many schools.
14. Snobbery in the schools has become a common trait.*

The stranger to our American school system might well be dismayed by all these complaints against the secondary school. The prospective teacher who has so recently emerged from the portals of this school can appreciate the nature of these criticisms better. There are, however, significant differences in these two lists which should not escape the student.

Our main concern with these criticisms is to determine their source, their merits, and what can and should be done to remove the causes that give rise to them.

Who are the critics?

Parents. Among the most consistent, but most friendly, critics of the school must be listed the parents of the students. Two

*Davis, C. O., *Our Evolving High School Curriculum*. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1927, pp. 49-50. This is a summarization of the criticisms discussed in Chapter I of Lewis, W. D., *Democracy's High School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

standards in particular govern the nature of the parental criticism of the school. The first is derived from the ambition of the typical parent that his child have the best possible educational advantages. The second is the measure of similarity between the program the school is offering the child and that which was available to the parents, or that which the parents think was available, in their day; unfortunately, it is a general tendency for adults to idealize the education they experienced.

Worshippers of tradition. This group finds its principal values in the past. Since they believe that wisdom resides largely in the old, the education of an older generation is considered superior to that of the present. Critics from this group are continually lamenting the shortcomings of modern education. As contemporary education departs farther from the traditional pattern, the volume and range of criticism increases. With genuine alarm these worshippers of tradition view what is to them the tendency to substitute the untried and the ephemeral for the real substance of an education. They do not accept as applicable to education the truth of the poet's injunction "Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key."

Partisans of higher education. Historically the secondary school has been considered a feeder for the college or university. Naturally the colleges and universities have watched jealously any departure of the secondary school from the one task of preparing youth for successful admission to these institutions. As the secondary school serves an ever-increasing proportion of our American youth and, as a result, broadens its program to serve wider interests, the higher institutions of learning have become more voluble about the relationship of the secondary school to the colleges. These institutions have been anxious that the secondary school keep the curriculum adjusted to their entrance requirements, and are almost equally concerned that the methods and spirit of the school approximate those of the colleges and universities.

Employers. Many of the criticisms of the inefficiencies of the secondary school come from the employers who have experienced considerable difficulty with youths employed as clerks, stenographers, and in similar tasks. These employers are especially critical of the inability of these youths to spell correctly

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or to use accurately the needed arithmetical skills. They charge further that all too many youths who seek employment take no pride in accuracy or neatness of work and tend to be careless and indifferent to responsibility. These and other avowed shortcomings of youth in the business world are laid at the door of the modern secondary school.

Vested interests. This segment of the critics consists of those who have "axes to grind" at the expense of the schools. One group has selfish interests which it wants the schools to promote. It may be that the members of this group have textbooks, materials, or equipment they want the schools to use, or ideas to be adopted which will be of personal benefit to the promoters. The other group is critical of the activities of the school which thwart its selfish interests.

Taxpayers. In almost every community there are those who feel the cost of education is burdensome. The school represents the largest single item on the local tax bill. In some communities it amounts to 60 to 80 per cent, or even more, of the local tax. The major crescendo of public criticism on the cost of the schools, however, usually emanates from Tax Leagues and Realty Boards which represent the very large taxpayers or business interests of the community. The secondary school has been the favorite target of this group.

Doctrinaires. This group represents the "special pleaders." They usually have no ulterior motives but have deep convictions that certain ideologies should be promoted by the school. Sometimes the criticisms are directed at what is taught in the schools, but more often the schools are criticized for their omissions. Among some of the more persistent of these ideological criticisms are those centering upon the absence of or underemphasis on some sort of patriotism, economic-political theories, certain notions of health, or religious instruction.

Youth in school. Not the least prominent of the critics, either in volume or effectiveness, are the youths who are in or have just emerged from the secondary school. Their reactions for and against are significant for several reasons: their judgments derived from personal experiences and observations are often keenly discerning. It is natural for the judgments of students about the school, its program, its staff, or its effectiveness to

be accepted by parents, and to a lesser extent by the community. It should not be forgotten that whether they are true or false, these judgments influence tremendously the attitudes of the students as adults toward the school.

Intelligent laymen and educators. To characterize a large section of the criticisms as the product of intelligent laymen and educators is to imply that many criticisms are the expressions of a body of citizens whose comments, whether honest or influenced by personal interest, are not the result of careful, judicious thinking. Certainly, all agree that criticisms *per se* do not have equal merit. The criticisms of the wide awake civic-minded citizens and educational leaders who have given most serious thought to educational problems are about as numerous as those from the less qualified. These criticisms should carry most weight and be considered as the most valid.

How valid are these criticisms?

In deciding how representative these criticisms are and how much they reflect the opinions of special groups, we are aided somewhat by the classifications of the source of criticisms offered. It is relatively easy to pick out the major items which reflect the views of special groups. A few examples should stimulate the reader to examine carefully all criticisms with which he comes in contact to determine their representative character.

The criticism, "The high school gives inadequate preparation for those going on to college," comes from the limited group of those interested in college education. It is estimated that only about twenty per cent of our youth go to college. It is not likely that a large proportion of either the college bound students or their parents would raise this issue. On the other hand, the criticism, "The small high school places too much emphasis upon college preparatory courses," probably represents a large group of critics. Traditionally the high school has prepared American youth for college. The struggle to make the school reflect the needs of the large mass of youth not going to college has been a continuous and major one for almost two centuries.

Another criticism, "Free public secondary education should

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not be offered to American youth," obviously comes from a small group that opposes this unique American practice on the ground of unjustifiable expense. Those large taxpayers who find it more economical to pay tuition for a few years to send their children to secondary school rather than to pay a larger, continuous tax for all children are the most probable critics of free secondary education for all. The rank and file citizen who aspires to every educational advantage for his children will naturally clamor for more rather than less free secondary education.

How significant are these criticisms?

A possible clue to the significance of criticisms as indicative of weaknesses in the school is the extent to which we can identify criticisms as representative of the attitudes of the general public—public-spirited and educationally informed—as against patently selfish special interest groups. Although this should be a general principle to guide our judgments, it cannot be accepted without qualification. Very often the best friends of a cause develop so-called "blind spots"—they do not see all the picture. Often we can learn much from our unfriendly critics.

From our background of experiences with the school and its program we can pass readily enough on some criticisms. Other objections will require the answer to many so-called "previous questions" before a sure answer can be given. It would be a stimulating exercise to try to single out all the criticisms which we could accept as definitely revealing a weakness in our present secondary school. It would sharpen our thinking also if we were to identify the problems for which we do not, at this stage in our experience, have sufficient data to assure accurate judgment. It is anticipated that it will require the consideration of many aspects of education before a final decision can be reached on the merits of many of the criticisms listed.

Few would assume that problems and issues in secondary education do not exist. Where criticisms tend to contradict each other, one may suspect an issue involving educational policy or even a basic one of educational philosophy. The criticisms that

our secondary schools do not properly prepare youth for college and that too much attention is given to college preparatory courses suggest a probable issue. The implication is that the two criticisms represent divergent points of view on the purpose and function of secondary education in America. Certainly the acceptance or rejection of either criticism must be based upon a primary consideration of what should be the purposes and functions of public secondary education in a democratic society.

The critical assertion that "free public secondary education should not be offered to American youth" states a fundamental issue. Most of us have become so accustomed to the tuition-free public secondary school that it does not seem possible that it could be an issue. Even though the criticism represents a small minority of the public, it challenges a practice based upon an opposing conception of the purpose and function of secondary education in America. This criticism is used here as an example of a type, because most readers would cast it aside on the assumption that the practice of providing free secondary education was a settled policy of the American people. To all intents and purposes the issue, a burning one over a century ago, has been settled as a policy of this country. The settlement of the legal aspects of the question with the famous Kalamazoo Case in 1874, which gave the community the right to tax itself for the support of free public secondary education, seemed definitive. Yet a minority group was powerful enough during the stress of the depression period of the early "thirties" to have a State Chamber of Commerce go on record against the continuance of free public secondary education.

Again, a criticism may represent simply the presence of a problem for which no real issue exists. The criticism that "many teachers play favorites in school" presents a problem to the school but not an issue. All agree that favoritism has no place in the school or classroom. It is simply a problem of correcting the difficulty. On the other hand, the criticism that "teachers are poorly prepared to teach" may or may not present an issue. It is not an issue if all are agreed on the nature of the poor preparation of the teachers and on the general methods by which the shortcomings in preparation may be corrected. A real issue

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is raised, however, when there is disagreement on the nature of the poor preparation of teachers and the proposed remedies. Different schools of educational thought have widely divergent notions of the nature of the weaknesses to be found in teacher preparation and even greater differences in their ideas of what should be done about them.

What should be done about these criticisms?

It may be well for the prospective teacher to examine carefully all criticisms that may come to his attention. Such examination will pay dividends in broad understanding of our secondary school, in its purposes, functions, and problems, and its significance in our American democratic society. As has been shown, some criticisms imply vital issues of policy or educational philosophy and others are just sporadic efforts of small groups to resurrect issues long since settled. A rigorous study of the issues could be one of the most fruitful means of giving to the new teacher a thorough insight into the nature of the secondary school and his professional task in it.

For the veteran as well as for the neophyte in education it is well to treat all criticisms against the school with respect. A frequent examination of current criticisms will tend to keep us conscious of the *raison d'être* of our schools. It will also make us sensitive to emerging faults in our professional activities. It should not be forgotten that, in an evolving society, frequent re-examination of our program is desirable, is a sign of internal health, and is an absolute necessity if we are to serve the needs of youth and our democracy most effectively.

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Questions and Problems

1. Read twenty to thirty magazine articles that are critical of our public schools, with particular attention given to the American secondary school. Analyze and list the different kinds of criticisms offered.
2. What evidence can you find that criticisms tend to cancel each other out by being diametrically opposed to each other?
3. Does or does not the critic reveal a bias that may throw doubt upon the validity of the criticism offered?
4. Through the use of a panel or class discussion try to determine which criticisms are: (1) probably without foundation, (2) probably true and justified, (3) probably true but circumstances prevent ready remedy, (4) data at hand not sufficient to justify a judgment of the merits of the criticism.
5. What additions can the class make to the list of criticisms of the secondary school given in this chapter?
6. What notable differences can you detect between the list of modern criticisms and the list presented approximately a quarter of a century earlier by Davis? How do you account for these differences?
7. (An individual or class project.) Which of the criticisms offered in the list given by the author may be regarded as invalid? Why are these so considered?
8. Using the list of criticisms formulated in problem 1, try to determine what current issues or problems in education are revealed.
9. How can the prospective teacher make use of current criticisms against the secondary school? How can the teacher in a regular teaching situation make use of such criticisms?

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE PRESENT SECONDARY SCHOOL—CHARACTERISTICS AND POPULATION?

What are some of the schools' chief characteristics?

What are common forms of secondary school organization?
The secondary school in the United States, like "Topsy," has just grown. In that growth it has taken on many organizational forms. If the neophyte in education becomes a little confused at the way number combinations are tossed about in educational discussions of the organizational patterns of secondary schools, he should not be too disturbed. After a while such expressions as 7-4, 8-4, 6-2-4, 6-6, 6-3-3, 6-3-3-2, or 6-4-4 will automatically bring a mental picture of the divisions of our secondary school as they are related to the elementary school.

These arithmetical symbols applied to the organizational pattern of the secondary school mean simply that the number of years is indicated by the numeral—where 4 appears, it refers to a high school course of four years. The four-year course has been our traditional high school organizational pattern; this type is frequently designated as the "regular" or "unreorganized" secondary school. When the classification "reorganized" is observed, it refers to the six-year individual junior senior high school or to the 3-3, or the junior high school with a separate school for the grades seven to nine and the senior high school composed of grades ten to twelve in a separate school.

The addition of the number 2 to the above classifications of the secondary school means that the first two years traditionally associated with the college or university are considered as part of secondary education. These two years, when set apart of

associated with the regular public secondary school, are known as "junior college." Recently, in many communities the secondary school has been divided into two separate school units of four years each, known as the 4-4 plan. This plan of reorganization of secondary education is so relatively recent that the final designation of the two divisions is not settled. Some would like the terms "junior and senior high schools" for the two schools, and others would prefer to use "high school" for the first division and "peoples college," or some such title for the second division to give it more adult prestige. At present, the usual designation of these two divisions is the "high school" and the "junior college."

These different types of school organizations are to be found throughout the United States, and, in addition, there are a few infrequently used forms not mentioned here. The four-year high school is the most usual. The junior high school is second in popularity, followed by the junior-senior schools, the senior high schools, and the undivided six-year school.

Walter S. Deffenbaugh, Chief of the American Schools Division, United States Office of Education, has pointed out the relative popularity of the two major types of organization in a recent government bulletin.

In the school systems having seven or eight elementary-school grades the elementary school is followed by a four-year high school, which is the predominant type of high school organization. . . . The reorganized high schools are of different types of grade organization. The most prevalent of these are the segregated junior high school consisting of grades VII, VIII, and IX; the segregated senior high school consisting of grades X, XI, and XII; the junior-senior high school consisting of VII, VIII, and IX and X, XI, and XII, respectively; and the undivided six-year high school consisting of VII to XII, inclusive.¹

Though the junior college is not included in the data of Table 1, it is considered a part of the American secondary school system. It has been customary in government statistical reports to present the statistics of the junior colleges in the section under "Higher Education." This has been done, no doubt,

¹*Education in the United States of America*. Office of Education, Miscellaneous Bulletin No. 3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, p. 49.

CHARACTERISTICS AND POPULATION

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF VARIOUS TYPES
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1943-44^a

| Type of School | Number of Schools | Per cent of Schools | Number of Pupils Enrolled | Per cent of Pupils Enrolled |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Public regular high schools | 13,244 | 56.9 | 2,696,119 | 17.3 |
| Public reorganized secondary schools | | | | |
| Undivided junior-senior | 6,362 | 26.2 | 1,787,317 | 23.0 |
| Junior high school | 2,656 | 10.9 | 1,276,361 | 17.9 |
| Senior high school | 2,119 | 5.8 | 1,260,336 | 16.2 |
| Other types | 133 | 0.6 | 219,007 | 3.1 |
| Total public schools | 24,314 | 100.00 | 7,140,144 | 100.00 |

as a part of the traditional assumption that anything beyond the twelfth grade belongs to the college as part of its freshman or sophomore years. Within the past half century, however, the educational leadership of America has come to recognize the first two years of the liberal arts college as more properly the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the secondary school. Since William Rainey Harper, first president of the University of Chicago, brought the question to the forefront of educational

TABLE 2

TYPES OF JUNIOR COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1948^a

| Types | Number |
|-------------|--------|
| Five year | 0 |
| Four " | 34 |
| Three " | 1 |
| Two " | 614 |
| One " | 1 |
| Total | 661 |

^aData from *Statistics of Public High Schools, 1943-44*, supplied in letter November 17, 1948 from Bloss, David T., Specialist, Educational Statistics, U.S. Office of Education.

^bSanders, Shirley, "Analysis of Junior-College Growth," *Junior College Journal*, 23:307-313, February, 1943, for data.

CHARACTERISTICS AND POPULATION 19

thinking, most outstanding educational pronouncements have decreed these two years as a logical part of secondary education. A mass of legislation governing the formulation of junior colleges has identified these institutions as part of America's secondary school system.

The two-year course has been the dominant form of organization in junior colleges in the United States. As the two years beyond the traditional high school became recognized as part of secondary education, the simplest device was to add it to the existing secondary school pattern as another unit. Educational leaders who feel that these years should be woven into the existing school have been responsible for the fact that the four-year junior college is now the second most numerous type.

TABLE 3

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS BY SIZE AND TYPE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1948¹

| Size of School | No. Regular High Schools | Per cent of Total | Number of Reorganized High Schools | Per cent of Total | No. of all H. S. Combined | Per cent of Total |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 0-9 | 219 | 1.6 | 15 | .3 | 234 | 1.0 |
| 10-24 | 901 | 6.5 | 74 | .7 | 975 | 4.0 |
| 25-49 | 2,370 | 17.2 | 316 | 3.2 | 2,686 | 11.1 |
| 50-74 | 2,521 | 18.2 | 396 | 5.2 | 3,117 | 12.8 |
| 75-99 | 1,739 | 12.6 | 809 | 7.8 | 2,548 | 10.5 |
| 100-199 | 3,194 | 23.1 | 2,726 | 26.4 | 5,920 | 24.5 |
| 200-299 | 1,180 | 8.5 | 1,461 | 14.1 | 2,641 | 10.8 |
| 300-499 | 752 | 5.4 | 1,624 | 15.8 | 2,376 | 9.8 |
| 500-999 | 494 | 3.6 | 1,718 | 16.3 | 2,212 | 9.1 |
| 1,000-2,499 | 380 | 2.3 | 948 | 9.2 | 1,328 | 5.5 |
| 2,500 or more | 94 | .7 | 48 | .5 | 142 | .7 |
| Total | 15,844 | 100.0 | 10,337 | 100.0 | 26,181 | 100.0 |

The secondary schools of this country are predominantly small schools. Over half of the traditionally organized high schools in the United States have an enrollment of less than 100 students. The contrast is very marked when this enrollment

¹Data from *Statistics of Public High Schools, 1945-46*, supplied in letter November 17, 1948 from Bloom, David T., Specialist, Educational Statistics, U.S. Office of Education.

CHARACTERISTICS AND POPULATION

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| 14 | Types of Elementary Schools | Grades 1-7 | Grades 1-8 | Grades 1-6 | Grades 1-6 | Grades 1-6 |
| 13 | | | | | | |
| 12 | | Grades 12-13 | High School Grades 9-12 | Undivided or Combined Junior-Senior High School Grades 7-12 | Senior High School Grades 10-12 | Junior College or College Grades 11-14 |
| 11 | | High School Grades 9-11 | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | |
| 8 | | High School Grades 7-10 | High School or J. High School Grades 7-10 | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | |
| 1 | | | | | | |
| Nursery School 1-2 Years | | | | | | |
| Kindergarten 1-2 Years | | | | | | |
| 7-4 Plan | | | | | | |
| 8-4 Plan | | | | | | |
| 6-6 Plan | | | | | | |
| 6-3-3 Plan | | | | | | |
| 6-4-4 Plan | | | | | | |

FIGURE 1. CHART SHOWING THE SEVERAL MAIN PATTERNS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

figure is compared with that for the reorganized schools where only 17 per cent of the enrollment is below 100 pupils. When the two major types of high schools are taken together, slightly less than 40 per cent enroll less than 100 pupils.

It may be inferred that the reorganized high school has tended to eliminate the extremely small high school. Whereas the traditional high school has enrollments under 50 in over 25 per cent of its schools, the reorganized high school has kept its schools of similar size to less than 3 per cent. This may be due quite as much to the fact that the question of reorganization is less likely to arise where student enrollments are extremely small.

Many of the criticisms made against the school may find their cause in problems created by our extraordinarily large number of small secondary schools. It is not feasible to offer the same opportunities in the 4,000 high schools with less than 50 pupils each as in the 3,600 schools with 500 or more pupils.

What are present trends in organization? The form of the secondary school is undergoing rapid change. At the turn of the century only a few variations of the four-year high school could be found. Then, very slowly, changes began to increase in frequency. After the first world war school reorganization, as well as other phases of secondary school education, began to gather momentum. Steadily the old four-year high school gave way to new forms of the reorganized secondary school. Each of the main types of reorganized schools has shown steady growth at the expense of the more traditional school. It may not be too much to predict that within the next quarter of a century the traditional four-year high school as many of us have known it will be gone.

Leonard V. Koos, in a comment on the momentum of the reorganization movement in secondary education, observes that:

The years of reorganization for fifteen, or almost a fourth of the systems for which answers on the point were reported, were from 1936 to 1940. This proportion is proof that the junior high school reorganization was still going on at a steady rate up to the clamping down of priorities on materials needed for building construction shortly before the opening of hostilities. . . . The general inference from returns of this inquiry is that the junior high school reorganization is still a dynamic movement

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF VARIOUS TYPES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1922-1946

| Type | 1922 | | 1926 | | 1930 | | 1934 | | 1938 | | 1946 | |
|----------------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| | Number | Per cent of Total | Number | Per cent of Total | Number | Per cent of Total | Number | Per cent of Total | Number | Per cent of Total | Number | Per cent of Total |
| Junior high schools | 387 | 2.8 | 1,109 | 6.3 | 1,822 | 8.3 | 1,943 | 8.2 | 2,172 | 9.6 | 2,516 | 11.0 |
| Junior-senior high schools | 1,088 | 7.7 | 1,949 | 11.0 | 3,287 | 14.8 | 3,933 | 17.0 | 6,203 | 25.2 | 6,162 | 26.3 |
| Senior high schools | 91 | .6 | 411 | 2.3 | 648 | 2.9 | 751 | 3.2 | 959 | 3.9 | 1,119 | 5.0 |
| Regular high schools | 22,490 | 88.9 | 14,241 | 80.4 | 16,460 | 74.0 | 16,574 | 71.4 | 15,056 | 61.3 | 15,224 | 67.7 |
| Total | 14,056 | 100.0 | 17,710 | 100.0 | 22,237 | 100.0 | 23,313 | 100.0 | 24,390 | 100.0 | 24,191 | 100.0 |

and must and will be taken into account in any planning of future developments in the nation's schools.²

The size of the secondary school unit is steadily becoming larger, and there are many reasons why this trend should continue. More than three-fourths of the high schools are in rural communities and yet these schools enroll less than one-third of the pupils who attend high school. Typical of the disparity in the sizes of the rural and urban regular high schools is the wide range in average enrollments. In the average rural regular high school the enrollment is approximately 100, whereas more than 1,000 are usually housed in urban regular high schools. Hard-surfaced all-weather roads and modern means of conveyance have encouraged the consolidation of small schools into larger units with greater opportunities for the pupils. School transportation systems with fleets of buses radiating out into the rural communities from a common school center are a familiar and popular mode of giving small communities the opportunities of the large schools which used to be the privilege of the urban dweller. In sparsely settled regions the growing practices of

²Sexson, John A. and Harbeson, John W., *The New American College*. Foreword by Leonard V. Koon. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. XIII-XIV.

transporting pupils within a radius up to thirty miles or more of the school and the building of dormitory facilities for those of greater distances are definitely enlarging the rural school unit. The expansion of the junior college idea will greatly encourage the consolidation of small secondary school districts into much larger ones.

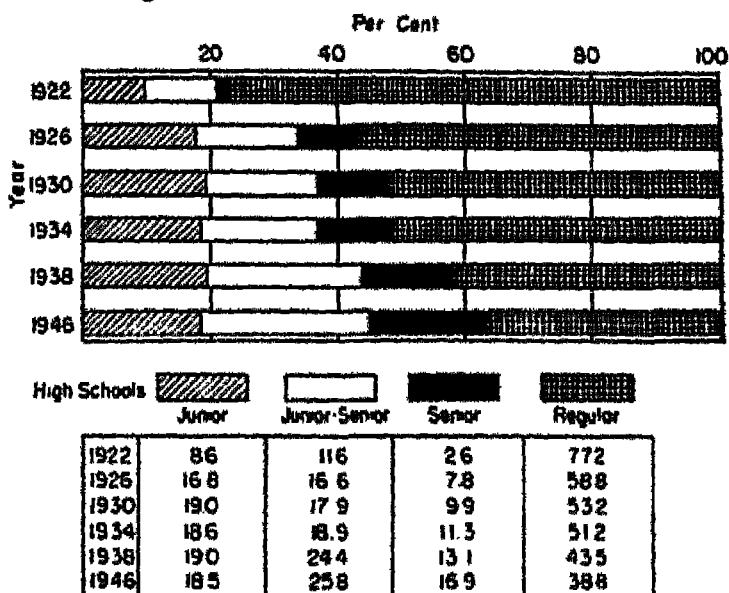


FIGURE 11. PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN VARIOUS TYPES OF SCHOOLS, 1922 TO 1946, INCLUSIVE. From Office of Education, Bulletin No. 2. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 9.

How is organization related to the public school system? To understand the secondary school it is necessary to see it as it is related to the over-all pattern of education in America. Roughly there are three major divisions in our educational system: the elementary, the secondary, and higher education.

Elementary education traditionally has consisted of units from grade one through grade seven or eight depending upon the section of the country. In the East and the southern portion of the United States there was a tendency to adopt the seven-year elementary school. In the northern portion of the Atlantic seaboard and the Middle West and West the eight-year ele-

TABLE 5
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS BY SIZE AND TYPE^a

| Enrollment | 1930 | | 1934 | | 1938 | | 1946 | |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| | No. of Schools | Per cent of Total | No. of Schools | Per cent of Total | No. of Schools | Per cent of Total | No. of Schools | Per cent of Total |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Regular: | | | | | | | | |
| 10-24 | 2,013 | 12.2 | 1,446 | 8.7 | 1,346 | 9.0 | 901 | 6.6 |
| 25-49 | 3,618 | 22.0 | 2,937 | 17.7 | 2,199 | 15.9 | 2,170 | 17.4 |
| 50-74 | 3,116 | 18.9 | 2,980 | 18.0 | 2,462 | 16.4 | 2,121 | 18.5 |
| 75-99 | 2,157 | 13.1 | 2,320 | 14.0 | 1,900 | 12.6 | 1,739 | 12.8 |
| 100-199 ... | 3,229 | 19.6 | 3,915 | 23.6 | 3,794 | 25.2 | 3,194 | 23.4 |
| 200-299 ... | 881 | 5.4 | 1,118 | 6.8 | 1,227 | 8.2 | 1,180 | 8.7 |
| 300-499 ... | 623 | 3.8 | 772 | 4.7 | 847 | 5.6 | 752 | 5.4 |
| 500-999 ... | 409 | 2.5 | 533 | 3.2 | 517 | 3.4 | 491 | 3.6 |
| 1,000-2,499 . | 297 | 1.8 | 382 | 2.3 | 411 | 2.7 | 380 | 2.8 |
| 2,500 or more | 117 | .7 | 171 | 1.0 | 153 | 1.0 | 94 | .7 |
| Total | 16,460 | 100.0 | 16,574 | 100.0 | 15,036 | 100.0 | 13,621 | 100.0 |
| Reorganized: | | | | | | | | |
| 10-24 | 64 | 1.1 | 24 | .4 | 26 | .3 | 71 | .7 |
| 25-49 | 248 | 4.3 | 202 | 1.0 | 244 | 2.6 | 315 | 1.1 |
| 50-74 | 405 | 7.0 | 384 | 5.8 | 389 | 6.1 | 396 | 1.8 |
| 75-99 | 386 | 6.7 | 475 | 7.2 | 761 | 8.0 | 809 | 7.9 |
| 100-199 ... | 1,374 | 23.8 | 1,679 | 25.3 | 2,613 | 27.4 | 2,726 | 26.4 |
| 200-299 ... | 752 | 13.0 | 846 | 12.7 | 1,334 | 14.0 | 1,461 | 14.8 |
| 300-499 ... | 855 | 14.8 | 924 | 13.9 | 1,424 | 14.9 | 1,621 | 13.7 |
| 500-999 ... | 1,012 | 17.5 | 1,207 | 18.2 | 1,423 | 14.9 | 1,713 | 16.6 |
| 1,000-2,499 . | 637 | 11.0 | 837 | 12.6 | 1,033 | 10.8 | 945 | 9.9 |
| 2,500 or more | 44 | .8 | 61 | .9 | 87 | .9 | 43 | .3 |
| Total | 5,777 | 100.0 | 6,639 | 100.0 | 9,534 | 100.0 | 10,322 | 100.0 |
| All; | | | | | | | | |
| 10-24 | 2,077 | 9.4 | 1,470 | 6.3 | 1,372 | 5.6 | 973 | 4.3 |
| 25-49 | 3,866 | 17.4 | 3,139 | 13.5 | 2,643 | 10.7 | 2,684 | 11.2 |
| 50-74 | 3,521 | 15.8 | 3,364 | 14.5 | 3,051 | 13.4 | 3,119 | 12.9 |
| 75-99 | 2,543 | 11.4 | 2,795 | 12.0 | 2,661 | 10.8 | 2,343 | 10.6 |
| 100-199 ... | 4,603 | 20.7 | 5,594 | 24.1 | 6,407 | 26.1 | 5,913 | 24.6 |
| 200-299 ... | 1,633 | 7.3 | 1,964 | 8.5 | 2,561 | 10.4 | 2,651 | 11.0 |
| 300-499 ... | 1,478 | 6.7 | 1,696 | 7.3 | 2,271 | 9.2 | 2,386 | 9.9 |
| 500-999 ... | 1,421 | 6.4 | 1,740 | 7.5 | 1,940 | 7.9 | 2,251 | 9.3 |
| 1,000-2,499 . | 934 | 4.2 | 1,219 | 5.3 | 1,444 | 5.9 | 1,369 | 5.7 |
| 2,500 or more | 161 | .7 | 232 | 1.0 | 240 | 1.0 | 169 | .7 |
| Total | 22,237 | 100.0 | 23,213 | 100.0 | 24,590 | 100.0 | 24,040 | 100.0 |

^aFrom Office of Education, Bulletin No. 2. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 5; 1946 data from *Statistics of Public High Schools, 1935-36*, supplied in letter November 17, 1948 from David T. Bloss, Office of Education.

mentary school has generally been adopted. A few Eastern communities have organized a nine-year elementary school. The dominant type of elementary school found in America, however, is the eight-year school.

Two significant changes have been taking place in the elementary school: with the turn of the present century the tendency to think of the sixth grade as the logical end of elementary education has rapidly gained ground, so that it promises to be the future upper limit of elementary education; the extension of elementary education downward below the first grade to include a three- or four-year period embracing two divisions, the kindergarten of one or two years and the nursery school of approximately two years, has developed. Sometimes these lower grades have been organized apart from the elementary school, but educational leaders consider them an integral part of the elementary school system.

The secondary school period theoretically extends from the seventh grade through the fourteenth grade, or two years above the ordinary high school. In practice it varies from community to community. The secondary school may begin at the seventh, eighth, or ninth grade and extend to the twelfth or fourteenth grade. As we have seen the trend is definitely toward the adjustment of practice to accepted theory.

The pattern of the third division is somewhat irregular. As the secondary school tends more and more to include the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, or the traditional freshman and sophomore years of the college and university, a somewhat radical adjustment in the college is inevitable. The controversy stirred up by the University of Chicago is possibly indicative of the problems which confront the organization of the colleges. The A.B. (baccalaureate) degree has been the time-honored degree of the four-year college. This degree has been regarded as the symbol of the completion of general education above the twelfth grade of high school. With the movement to consider the thirteenth and fourteenth (freshman and sophomore) years as the culmination of general education, the University of Chicago has proposed that the traditional baccalaureate degree be given at the end of the sophomore year. The work of higher education beyond the baccalaureate degree the University of

Chicago contends should be considered as that of specialization.

Apart from and yet closely related to the internal problems of the traditional type of college and university organization is the development of an extensive program of adult education above the secondary school. Since the first world war adult education has mushroomed in growth. The impetus received from the second world war promises to make it a major concern of higher education. Though not well defined as yet, adult education is characterized by the breadth of its scope. It emphasizes broad general education of a practical social-political-economic concern or special cultural-leisure-interest pursuits, and it considers the varied, semiskilled vocational needs of adults also.

The student is familiar with the much proclaimed American "educational ladder" by which the ambitious, discerning youth could make his way from the elementary school through the high school into the university. This climb is more common today than it was a generation ago. Although theoretically the high school graduate of fifty years ago could go on to college, there was little practical value in going unless he expected to enter one of the professions. The doors of higher education are opening wider to the graduate of the secondary school. This is true partly because higher education is making a wider range of advance educational pursuits available to meet the needs and abilities of high school youth.

What is the ratio of public and private secondary schools?

The discussion thus far has focused attention upon the public secondary school, which is the principal educational system in America. Therefore, it is the most typical of the institution and problems that the new teacher will be called upon to understand. However, most of the over-all problems which concern the public school today are similar to those of the private schools.

The secondary school of America came from a tradition of private concern for secondary education, which has given way until, for over a century, the ideal of American secondary education has been a free, publicly supported secondary school for all American youth. For many reasons private secondary schools have persisted. The dominant group supporting private secondary schools is religious. These people felt that the his-

toric separation of church and state which came with the adoption of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States prevented the public schools from giving as much attention to matters of religious instruction as desired. So keenly have some religious groups felt about this that they have

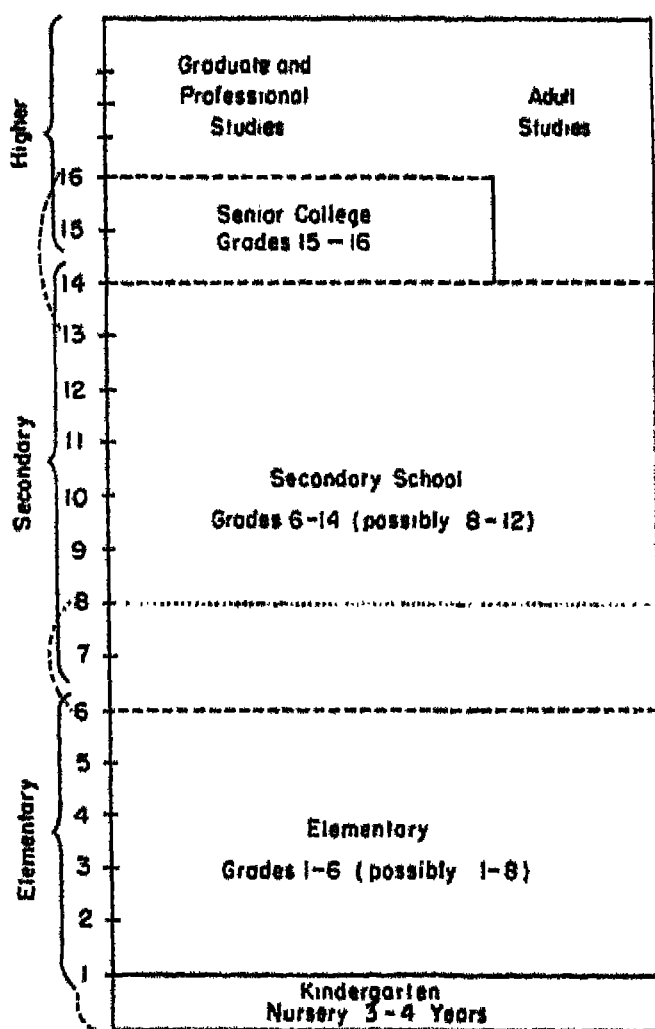


FIGURE III. CHART OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THREE MAJOR DIVISIONS OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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been willing to set up schools at their own expense to provide this additional instruction. Another group, of superior economic status, desired a quality of educational opportunity for their children which was not available in the typical public secondary school. For this and other reasons they have been willing to pay many times the average per pupil cost of education to assure better educational privileges for their sons and daughters. A third group, more numerous thirty years ago, was critical of the practicality of the secondary education offered in the public schools. Their primary interest in founding private schools was a practical "bread and butter" education for their children.

In 1942 there were approximately 3,000 private and 25,000 public secondary schools in the United States. The private high schools enrolled upwards of 512,000 pupils, whereas the public high schools enrolled approximately 7,900,000. This means that although the private schools had about 12 per cent as many school units as the public schools, they were relatively smaller schools because they enrolled only slightly over 7 per cent as many students.¹ The junior college has reflected the influence of the private character of the traditional college. In 1941 there were 261 public and 349 private junior colleges. The enrollments in these junior colleges were even more disproportionate than in the high schools. The private junior college had 57 per cent of the total number of institutions but had only 67,934 students, 29 per cent of the total number of students as compared with 168,228, the remaining 71 per cent, of students found enrolled in the public junior college.² The data for 1947 indicate the rapid development of the public junior college in comparison with the private junior college. In 1947 there were 326, or 49 per cent, public and 337, or 51 per cent, private junior colleges, with an enrollment in the former of 339,251, or 75 per cent, and 115,796, or 25 per cent, enrolled in the latter.³

¹"Statistical Summary of Education, 1941-42," Vol. II, Chap. II, pp. 3, 6, 10, 11. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940-42*. Washington. U.S. Office of Education, 1944.

²Eells, Walter C., *Present Status of Junior College Terminal Education*. Washington: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1941, pp. 3-4.

³Sanders, Shirley, "Analysis of Junior College Growth," *Junior College Journal*, 18:307-313, February, 1948.

To what extent are our schools coeducational? So infrequently do the youth of the public schools find themselves segregated by sex that most students are likely to think of the practice as caused by special purposes. In certain sections of the country separate secondary schools for boys and girls are occasionally found. This type of school is native to the Atlantic states and the "deep" South.

At the time of our early colonization, the European secondary schools were maintained almost exclusively for boys. Our early secondary schools were for boys. Only reluctantly was the secondary school made available to both sexes. When this happened, there was a tendency to provide separate schools for girls. With the advent of public education and the emergence of a freer attitude between men and women, segregation tended to give way to coeducation. One suspects that the economics of supporting dual systems of education after the approval of greater educational rights for women may have influenced a more tolerant attitude. As the schools moved westward with the pioneer, old traditions lost their force; the schools became coeducational. Even private secondary schools for one sex only are not numerous west of the Mississippi. The junior college has been more conservative than the high schools, but over three-fourths (516) of these schools are coeducational. Only five of the public junior colleges are restricted to men; none are limited to women. The privately controlled junior colleges list 44 for men only, 98 are restricted to women, and 195 are coeducational.¹⁰

What is the nature of the pupil population?

How many are in school? In 1942 there were approximately 7,900,000 pupils in public secondary schools and slightly over 512,000 pupils enrolled in private secondary schools. For this same year it was estimated that of the age group 14-17 about 72 per cent of them were in the secondary school and in April, 1947, this had risen to 81.2 per cent. More girls than boys are enrolled in the secondary school, which is true for both public

¹⁰Sanders, Shirley, "Analysis of Junior College Growth," *Junior College Journal*, 18:309, February, 1948.

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and private schools. The girls exceed the boys by about a quarter of a million.

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE
HIGH SCHOOL FROM 1910 TO 1942¹

| Year | Boys | Girls |
|------|------|-------|
| 1910 | 43.6 | 56.4 |
| 1920 | 45.1 | 54.9 |
| 1930 | 43.1 | 51.9 |
| 1938 | 43.7 | 51.3 |
| 1940 | 43.3 | 51.3 |
| 1942 | 43.4 | 51.6 |

What are the trends in growth? There are not much data on the school enrollments of the early secondary schools. The growth of the secondary school began its marked advance at the beginning of this century. From 1880 to the present the

TABLE 7
INCREASE IN THE ENROLLMENT OF THE
HIGH SCHOOL FROM 1880 TO 1942

| Year | Enrollment |
|------|------------|
| 1880 | 110,277 |
| 1890 | 202,964 |
| 1900 | 519,351 |
| 1910 | 915,061 |
| 1920 | 2,199,389 |
| 1930 | 4,399,423 |
| 1937 | 7,420,703 |
| 1942 | 7,900,000 |

growth of the secondary school has been spectacular: with 110,277 students in 1880, the high school has almost doubled its enrollment each ten years thereafter to 1940. Our secondary school thus has had a growth unparalleled anywhere in the world outside of Russia. Over a fifty-year period the American secondary school increased approximately 3,900 per cent.

¹"Statistics of State School Systems, 1943-44," Chap. 11, p. 5, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1942-44*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

This is not a complete picture of the growth in those years of the school population now recognized as secondary. The statistics quoted refer exclusively to those pupils enrolled in recognized secondary schools, either regular or reorganized. Apart from these schools there were, in 1940, about two and three-fourths million pupils in the regular seventh and eighth grades of our elementary schools. The holding power of these grades has been growing in effectiveness for the past two decades. This means that if we are to consider as essentially secondary all enrollments in the public schools beyond the sixth grade, there were, in 1940, over ten million youths of secondary school level in our schools.

TABLE 8
INCREASE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
AND POPULATION, 14-17 YEARS OF AGE, 1889-90 TO 1941-42^a

| Year | Population 14-17 Years of Age | | Number Enrolled per 100 Population 14-17 Years of Age |
|-----------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| | Number | Per cent Increase Over 1889-1890 | |
| 1889-1890 | 5,354,653 | | 7 |
| 1899-1900 | 6,152,231 | 14.9 | 11 |
| 1909-1910 | 7,220,298 | 34.8 | 15 |
| 1919-1920 | 7,735,841 | 44.5 | 32 |
| 1929-1930 | 9,342,221 | 74.5 | 51 |
| 1939-1940 | 9,720,419 | 81.5 | 73 |
| 1941-1942 | 9,665,982 | 80.5 | 72 |

What is the probable future trend in school population? The phenomenal rate of growth of our secondary schools has reached its peak. The growth momentum maintained for the past fifty years began to show a slight abatement in 1940. At that ten-year mark the secondary school did not duplicate previous decade performances in doubling its enrollment. We may expect a gradual dropping of the growth curve over the next two or three decades.

There are several factors which will affect the future tempo

^aAdapted from Table 9, p. 9, "Statistical Summary of Education, 1941-42," Vol. II, Chap. II, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940-42*. Washington: Office of Education, 1944.

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of growth of the secondary school population. As a people we are growing older, which means that we have less young people under twenty today compared with those of the population over forty than was the case twenty, forty, or sixty years ago. The birth rate has been steadily decreasing except for a short period immediately following both world wars. As a result the proportion of young people to older is getting smaller. How much the high school enrollments may be influenced in the immediate future by this change in the birth rate may be seen from this statement by Emery M. Foster, Chief, Division of Statistics of the United States Office of Education.

The decrease in the enrollment of children in the elementary schools (grades 1-8) from the peak year of 1929-30 to 1941-42 was approximately 3,232,000. This decrease is accounted for largely by a decrease of 2,710,500 children in the age group 5 to 13 years, inclusive, during the same period. . . . The total number of persons in the high-school age group, 14 to 17 years inclusive, is beginning to decline, there being about 56,000 fewer in 1941-42 than in 1939-40.¹⁸

In spite of the fact that our total population has been increasing during the past decade, the potential school population has increased only slightly. The major reason for the continued rapid increase in high school attendance has been a greater volume of school attendance from the high school age group. As shown in Table 8, the population in the age group 14-17 in 1940 was only slightly better than in 1930. Yet over this period the proportion of those in this age group attending school jumped from a low of 51 to 73 per 100. In some states the high school attendance has passed 90 per cent. We cannot expect to enroll 100 per cent of the high school age group. The point of feasible saturation is not too far away. From now on the bridging of the remaining gap between 73 and whatever may be regarded as a tenable goal of attendance probably will reflect a much reduced growth curve.

Three things in particular may increase the total volume of enrollment in the secondary school: the first is the sudden rise in the birth rate, which, however, may prove temporary; the

¹⁸"Statistical Summary of Education, 1941-42," Vol. II, Chap. II, pp. 7, 9. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940-42*. Washington: Office of Education, 1944.

second is the increased popularity of secondary education reflected in more stringent school attendance laws—at present in a majority of the states it is not necessary to attend school beyond the age of sixteen; third is the extent to which the junior college movement gathers momentum in the near future. At present the outlook appears promising for a major development in this direction. There were in 1915 only 74 junior colleges in the United States, with an enrollment of 2,363 students. By 1930 the number of junior colleges had increased to 429 with 67,627 enrolled. The 1948 report listed 663 junior colleges with a total enrollment of 455,048.

To what extent does the school retain the pupils?

Judged by the criterion of increased ratio of enrollment for the age group 14-17, the holding power of the high school has steadily advanced. The ratio of those who begin high school in a certain year and graduate four years later is a more exact way of determining this fact. Fortunately, the data are available. Of the freshmen who began their four-year secondary course in succeeding years from 1927-28 to 1938-39 the data show that slowly but gradually the loss of students grade by grade toward graduation has been reduced. The disparity be-

TABLE 9
NUMBER SURVIVING BY HIGH SCHOOL YEAR PER 1,000 PUPILS
ENROLLED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL IN THE YEARS INDICATED^a

| High School Year | 1927- 28 | 1928- 29 | 1929- 30 | 1930- 31 | 1931- 32 | 1932- 33 | 1933- 34 | 1934- 35 | 1935- 36 | 1936- 37 | 1937- 38 | 1938- 39 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| I | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |
| II | 758 | 768 | 793 | 815 | 821 | 848 | 852 | 847 | 835 | 845 | 869 | 886 |
| III | 596 | 627 | 656 | 669 | 680 | 677 | 674 | 687 | 700 | 725 | 751 | 736 |
| IV | 533 | 562 | 577 | 591 | 582 | 586 | 597 | 601 | 618 | 637 | 646 | 640 |
| Graduates | 465 | 495 | 493 | 492 | 498 | 513 | 531 | 541 | 554 | 581 | 583 | 583 |
| Year of Graduation | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 | 1938 | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 |

^aStatistical Summary of Education, 1941-42," Vol. II, Chap. II, p. 31. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940-42*. Washington: Office of Education, 1944.

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tween the entering freshman class and the graduation class is cause for concern even in 1941, however. Slightly over 58 per cent of the group who began in 1937-38 graduated. As might be expected the peak was reached in 1941, although the same number graduated in 1942. The effect of the war is clearly evidenced in the enrollment break in the senior year of the class of 1937-38 and in the third and fourth years of the class of 1938-39.

The secondary school can find much room for concern in the actual losses from grade to grade. The losses were greatest in the earlier grades and most frequent in the early 1930's. Even in the 1940 graduating class the drop-outs claim 25 per cent by the beginning of the third year. The fact that 65 per cent of the students start the senior year but only 58 per cent manage to graduate suggests that increasing the holding power of the high school is a necessary move.

A similar study made of the holding power of the high school for the elementary school revealed that the high school is a very attractive magnet for the eighth grader. Of 1,000 pupils who entered the fifth grade in 1934-35 the transition was made

TABLE 10*
NUMBER SURVIVING THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL PER 1,000
PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE FIFTH GRADE 1906-07 TO 1944-45

| | Number Surviving per 1,000 Pupils in Fifth Grade | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 1906-07 | 1922-23 | 1925-26 | 1929-30 | 1932-33 | 1934-35 | 1944-45 |
| Fifth grade | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 |
| High school graduation | 739 | 241 | 326 | 403 | 457 | 467 | 393 |
| Year of high school graduation | 1914 | 1928 | 1935 | 1937 | 1940 | 1942 | 1944 |

*The data in this table show the steady growth in the holding power of the high school for the period from 1906-07 to 1942. The break shown in the number who graduated in 1944 reveals the effect of the second world war on the schools. It is for this reason that in most tables indicating the growth of the schools, data are not given beyond the year 1942. The effect of the war on the schools was already being adversely felt in 1942. This effect tends to destroy the general perspective of normal development evident before the break because of war conditions.

to the high school with a loss of only 40 pupils out of the 842 who completed the eighth grade. The loss of this group between the freshman and sophomore years, however, was more than doubled. Of this 1,000 who began the fifth grade in 1934-35 only 467 remained to graduate in 1942.

What causes failure to enter? Thus far we have observed the extent to which youth is attracted to and retained in the secondary school. There is much to encourage us in the evidence of the increased holding power of the secondary school. On the other hand, the failure to attract and hold large numbers of youth of high school age is a source of criticism which needs further attention.

One of the notable studies of the types of youth attending our secondary schools was made by George S. Counts as his research study for the doctor's degree. He found that of the number of children in the senior year in high school from occupational groups representing 1,000 males over 45 years of age in each occupational group, labor had one member of the senior class compared with 69 from "professional services," 68 from "managerial services," and 56 from "proprietors'" groups. Data assembled on the basis of the occupation of parents of high school seniors revealed that for every 1.4 child of a laborer in the senior class there were 17.4 children of the proprietors' group.¹⁶ Looked at from another angle, for every 2.5 children of high school age at work from the proprietors' group there were 16 at work from the labor group. Counts concluded that the economic reason was a very pertinent one for youth's attendance in the high school. "In a very large measure participation in the privileges of a secondary education is contingent on social and economic status."¹⁷ Eckert and Marshall in the New York Regents Inquiry in 1938 found approximately two out of three pupils who dropped out of school below the ninth grade came from economically underprivileged homes.¹⁸ Bell in the Maryland study found that children from homes in the upper

¹⁶Counts, George S., *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 42, 47.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁸Eckert, Ruth E. and Marshall, Thomas O., *When Youth Leave School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, p. 72.

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economic levels completed the eighth grade eleven times more frequently than did the children from the homes at the lowest economic levels. The general public is not inclined to think of the amount of money it cost pupils to go to school even though tuition is free. It is necessary to dress better than for a laborer's job; there are expenditures for incidentals inevitable to the youth who is to be a part of the group and share group life. One study from daily accounts of such expenses of different high school groups in several states uncovered an average yearly expenditure of \$125. The average for freshmen was \$95 and for seniors \$154.¹⁸

These are but samples of the array of studies that have led to the conviction that one of the major reasons for youth's not going to school is economic. At least 40 per cent of our American families is continually at the ragged edge of poverty with an annual income of \$1,000 or less. Even the rest of the two-thirds of our families under the \$1,500 income level must count it a real sacrifice to send their children to high school. The cost of better clothing and the extra burden of incidentals at school make the possible earning capacity of the youth at this time a consideration. If the youth finds it impossible to keep up with his crowd if he goes to school but possible if he takes a job, the job is likely to win.

Another reason for the lack of attraction for the secondary school flows in part from the belief of many parents and youth that the school does not offer anything worth-while for those youths not going on to college. It is implied in the data given above. The tremendous amount of money spent by youth and young adults for courses at commercial trade schools and for correspondence courses also implies a lack of confidence in the practical values of the typical high school.

What factors tend to eliminate pupils from school? It is generally agreed that there are at least three main factors of the many interrelated causes that contribute to the elimination of pupils from the secondary school.

ECONOMIC: The economic factor both keeps youth from beginning school and leads to their dropping out once they

¹⁸Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, p. 63.

have started. Counts cites evidence from his study to show that the economic factor has much to do with the holding power of the school. Eckert and Marshall observed that "On the average, the poorer the student is, the sooner he will leave school. Those who most desperately need what the school might offer because of their circumscribed home backgrounds and their limited ability to learn directly from experience are the least likely at the present time to receive it."¹⁹ Bell agrees in these words "Of all the factors considered in the present study, probably the most potent one in determining a youth's grade attainment is his father's occupation."²⁰ Lovejoy, in the North Carolina Youth Survey 1938-40, substantiates these findings thus:

By looking at the matter of the grade completed by the out-of-school youths in relation to their father's occupation . . . we see that the most favorable educational achievement of the white youths is made by those boys and girls whose fathers are professional persons, proprietors, and clerks. The children of farmers, semiskilled workers, farm laborers, and other laborers complete the fewest number of grades . . . the largest percentage of those youths who attended school only as far as either the grammar school grades or a part of high school fall within the lower income brackets, whereas the majority of those who graduated from high school and either attended or graduated from college are to be found in homes where the annual income is in excess of \$1,000.²¹

Similar findings were made in the 1941 University of Maryland survey of twelve secondary schools²² and the exhaustive study made by Edwards in 1939.²³

INTELLIGENCE: There appears to be a very significant relationship between intelligence and continuance of the individual in secondary school. Kefauver and his associates, in the report

¹⁹Eckert, Ruth E. and Marshall, Thomas O., *When Youth Leave School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, p. 78.

²⁰Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, p. 58.

²¹Lovejoy, Gordon W., *Paths to Maturity*. Findings of the North Carolina Youth Survey, 1938-40. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. 59, 61.

²²*A Program of Reorganization for the Public Secondary Schools of Prince George's County*. Survey Committee, College of Education, University of Maryland, 1941, Chap. 2.

²³Edwards, Newton, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939, Chap. XI.

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of their investigation in 1932, dispose of all previous studies of this problem in the sweeping statement, "Studies of the intelligence of high school pupils have shown beyond question that they are, in this respect also, a selected group as compared with the total population of high school age."¹¹ That selection was still taking place at the time of this study is revealed in the gradual rise of the median I.Q.'s from the ninth grade 99, tenth grade 101, eleventh grade 103, and twelfth grade 105.¹² Fickert and Marshall found that boys who dropped out of school scored an average of about the 28th percentile on an intelligence test as compared with an average percentile score of 73 for those who graduated and a percentile score of 84 for postgraduates. The girls' percentiles were slightly lower than those of the boys. They conclude "Pupils who leave prior to graduation tend to come from low-ability levels, at whatever time they withdraw."¹³

In 1938 a study was reported by Samler of two groups of high school students in New York City. The study covered from June, 1934 to February, 1936 and included 2,577 graduates and 1,387 drop-outs. Among other things Samler found the mean I.Q. of the graduates to be 105.6 and that of the drop-outs to be 96.3.¹⁴ Similar findings were uncovered in the Maryland study of twelve schools in 1941. This study concluded that the chances of graduation from high school of those with an I.Q. of 110 or above were three times better than for those who had an I.Q. of 90 or below.¹⁵

INTEREST: One of the major reasons for leaving school given by youths is the lack of challenge the school presents to them. Lovejoy found that 40 per cent of the white boys and al-

¹¹Kefauver, Grayson N., Noll, Victor H., and Drake, C. Elwood, *The Secondary School Population*, National Survey of Secondary Education, Bulletin No. 17. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934, p. 17.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹³Eckert, Ruth E. and Marshall, Thomas O., *When Youth Leaves School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, pp. 51, 54.

¹⁴Samler, Joseph, "The High School Graduate and Drop-Out," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 7:105-109, December, 1938.

¹⁵*A Program of Reorganization for the Public Secondary Schools of Prince George's County, Maryland*. Survey Committee, College of Education, University of Maryland, 1941, Chap. 2.

most 30 per cent of the white girls gave "tired of school" as the reason for quitting school. About 20 per cent of the Negro boys and girls gave lack of interest as the reason for their leaving school. On this point he comments, "That such a large per cent of them leave school because they are tired of it is not a glowing tribute to the manner in which the schools are functioning."²⁹

Bell calls attention to the fact that although 25 per cent of the youths in the Maryland study said they left school because of lack of interest there was a strong likelihood that many others left for the same reason although they gave other reasons.

TABLE 11
REASONS GIVEN BY YOUTH FOR LEAVING SCHOOL³⁰

| <i>Reasons Given</i> | <i>Percentage of Youth</i> |
|---|----------------------------|
| Economic reasons: | 54.0 |
| Lack of family funds | 34.1 |
| Desire to earn own money | 15.7 |
| Needed to work at home | 4.2 |
| Lack of interest in school: | 24.6 |
| Lack of interest | 20.6 |
| Disciplinary trouble | 2.2 |
| Subjects too difficult | 1.8 |
| Feeling of completion before graduation | 13.2 |
| Poor health | 1.2 |
| To marry | 1.0 |
| Other reasons | 2.0 |
| Total | 100.0 |
| Number of youth | 10,858 |

A similar set of findings was made by Talkovich in his study of drop-outs in Central High School, Duluth, Minnesota.

MISCELLANEOUS: The table from the Bell study indicates that youth recognizes two major reasons for failure to remain in school. No doubt unwillingness to admit lack of mental ability

²⁹Lovejoy, Gordon W., *Paths to Maturity*. Findings of the North Carolina Youth Survey, 1931-40. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. 63, 64.

³⁰Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1932, p. 64.

TABLE 12

REASONS FOR PUPILS WITHDRAWING FROM
CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, DULUTH, MINNESOTA, 1945-46^a

| <i>Reasons Given by Pupils</i> | <i>Number of Pupils</i> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Graduated | 21 |
| Poor scholarship | 12 |
| Lack of interest in school | 42 |
| Disciplinary difficulties | 7 |
| Family moved away | 37 |
| Illness of pupils | 11 |
| Pupil's help needed at home | 5 |
| Marriage | 3 |
| To go to work | 35 |
| Entered military service | 20 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 12 |
| Reason unknown | 11 |
| Total | 224 |

or nonrecognition of that as a primary cause may account for the very small group who confess to the work of the school being too difficult. Yet, the data at hand are clearly proof that mental competency is an important factor in school elimination.

That there are other contributing causes of lesser importance all recognize. Significant among these is the problem of race. The studies of Bell, Lovejoy, and Eckert and Marshall are typical of numerous studies that show the possible handicap of race in the effort to complete the high school. Some racial groups have not placed the same value on education as the white native American, and in most situations the economic factor has influenced the educational outlook for many racial groups—particularly the Negro. Sex also influences the elimination of students. For a generation more girls than boys have been in high school; in 1910 the girls outnumbered the boys by 56.4 against 43.6 per cent of the enrollment. This had been reduced to percentage of 51.3 girls compared with 48.7 boys in 1938.

^aTalkovich, Kenneth J., *A Study of Attendance At Central High School, Duluth, Minnesota, for the Year 1945-46*. An unpublished Masters degree study, University of Minnesota, 1946.

Yet all studies show that boys leave school in larger numbers than girls. Two reasons have been given for this: the economic and the possibility of less docility on the part of boys than girls. Commenting on the disproportionate withdrawal of boys over girls in the New York study Eckert and Marshall suggest "Boys show less tolerance for present educational programs than girls show, although they apparently have profited more from school instruction."¹²

What can be done to attract pupils and hold them? It is only necessary to note the reasons for the withdrawal of youth from school to see the solution to the problem of holding students. If poverty or economic stringency causes much of the enrollment loss, the school must try every possible means to make the secondary school free. Free textbooks, supplies, tax support of student activities as a legitimate charge against the school budget, transportation, even aiding students to get part-time work to cover personal costs—if not the direct grant of a subsidy—should be undertaken.

The interest and intelligence factors in school success suggest that the curriculum needs to be more intensely studied. It must be made adjustable to the abilities of all youths, either through change or through better guidance of pupils in curriculum choice. When the unreal verbal emphasis so common today is rejected and attention is focused upon the vital problems of life in the contemporary world, the curriculum will become more challenging to youth. Also, a wider range of curriculum offering should be available to all students, both rural and urban.

There will always be the pull of the job to compete with the school for the attention of the later adolescent boy or girl. Not only must the young people see the values education has for them, but also society must create conditions that remove the temptation of the job from them. Two possibilities, both now accepted policies but needing more rigorous development, obviously are open here. One is to raise the age limit for gainful employment to a minimum age of 18, and the other is to raise the compulsory school attendance age to 18 or completion of

¹²Eckert, Ruth E. and Marshall, Thomas O., *When Youth Leaves School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, p. 104.

TABLE 13

AGE LIMITS FOR COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE AND MAJOR EXCEPTIONS^a TREASURY^b

| Compulsory School Attendance Age ^c | States in Which Specified Age Limits Apply | Exceptions Allowed ^d | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| | | School Progress; Employment After Reaching Certain Age | Distance From School Without Transportation Facilities | Other Exceptions |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Ages 8-18 | Calif., Idaho, Utah | Calif., Idaho, Utah | Utah | Calif., Idaho |
| Ages 8-17 | Pa. | Pa. | .... | .... |
| Ages 8-16 | Ariz., Colo., Minn., Mont, N. H. | Ariz., Colo., Minn., Mont, N. H. | Minn., Mont. | Colo., Minn. |
| Ages 8-15 | Wash. | Wash. | .... | .... |
| Ages 7-18 | Nev., Okla., Oreg. | Nev., Okla., Oreg. | Oreg. | .... |
| Ages 7-17 | Maine ^e | Maine ^e | .... | .... |
| Ages 7-16 | Ala., Ark., Conn., Del., Fla., Ga., Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kans., Ky., Md., Mass., Miss., Mo., Nebr., N. J., N. Y., N. C. ^f , R. I., S. C., S. Dak., Tenn., Texas, Vt., Va., W. Va., Wis., Wyo. | Ark., Conn., Del., Fla., Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kans. ^g , Ky., Md. ^h , Mass., Miss., Mo., Nebr., N. J., N. Y., N. C. ^f , S. Dak., Tenn., Texas, Vt., W. Va., Wis. | Ala., Fla., Miss., N. C., Tenn., Texas, Va., W. Va., Wis. ⁱ | Ark., Ill., Iowa, N. C., S. C., S. Dak., Tenn., Texas, W. Va., Wyo. |
| Ages 7-15 | La. | .... | La. | La. |
| Ages 7-14 | N. Dak. | N. Dak. | N. Dak. | N. Dak. |
| Ages 6-18 | Ohio ^j | Ohio | .... | .... |
| Ages 6-16 | Hawaii, Mich., N. Mex. | Hawaii, Mich., N. Mex. | Hawaii, Mich., N. Mex. | Hawaii, Mich. |

^aVerified by state superintendents in all states except Rhode Island.^bIn case a child enters school below the age of compulsory attendance he is usually subject to compulsory attendance even though he may not have reached the minimum age under the compulsory attendance law.^cIn addition to the exceptions found in practically all compulsory attendance laws for physically and mentally incapacitated children of school age.^dAttendance of child over age fifteen is compelled to age sixteen if elementary grades are not completed, and to age seventeen if he cannot read and write simple sentences.^eChildren who complete the school in the attendance area are not required to continue, regardless of age.^fAfter September 1949, this exception will no longer apply.^gIn cities of over 5000 population.^hAge fifteen in counties of population between 325,000 and 326,000 by the 1910 census.ⁱThe Legal Status of the Public-School Pupil. Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, February, 1948, p. 13.

the equivalent of the 14th grade. At the present time the compulsory school attendance laws are far below that minimum although several states have set 18 as the lower limit in age.

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Questions and Problems

1. Justify the statement that "The secondary school in the United States, like 'Topsy,' has just grown."
2. Make a list of all the organizational types of school systems you can find. Try to identify which types are prevalent in various sections of the United States and determine as far as possible why these organizational forms are associated with certain sections of the country.
3. How do you distinguish the "regular" and "reorganized" secondary schools?
4. Why is the junior college considered a part of secondary education?
5. What are some of the problems created by small secondary schools?
6. What are the present trends in size of secondary schools?
7. Distinguish between the major divisions of our American educational system.
8. How valid is our so-called educational ladder as it has worked in the past and is now functioning? What studies can you cite to justify your conclusions?
9.
 - a. To what extent are our secondary schools public and private?
 - b. Why do we have these types of secondary schools?
10. Compare the extent of coeducation past and present in American secondary education and explain the reasons for the present situation.
11. Plan a panel discussion or a committee report on the problem of the future increase of secondary school enrollments.
12. Have a panel or class discussion on "How can we retain larger numbers of pupils in school who are now being eliminated?"
13. Trace the changes in compulsory attendance legislation for the United States at ten-year intervals since 1900.

CHAPTER III

WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE PRESENT SECONDARY SCHOOL—CURRICULUM, FINANCE, PERSONNEL?

What is the nature of the curriculum?

The difficulty in keeping youth in the secondary school has been attributed mostly to the faults of the curriculum. The typical secondary school curriculum, however, is exceedingly difficult to describe. Two major types are suggested as most representative of what is usually found, often in variant forms, in the average four-year high school.

The single-curriculum school presents subjects that all high school students are expected to study. These subjects are likely to be grouped around the traditional subject fields of English, mathematics, social studies, and science. More recently physical education and health have been added to the required curriculum as a combined field, often by legal requirement of the state. Although the minimum and maximum number of courses required by individual schools varies, work in all these fields is required. Beyond this prescribed central pattern of subjects which all must take, a number of other subjects such as art, music, home economics, industrial arts, or agriculture may be offered as electives. The extent of these electives may depend on the size of the school staff, facilities, and budgets. The smaller the school, the more limited the elective privileges of the student will be.

The multiple curriculum is the other type that has been accepted in our larger secondary schools. This curriculum is in reality several curriculum patterns; each pattern may be pursued by different students in conformity with their major interests. A school with such a curriculum may have, for example,

(a) a classical curriculum, (b) a science curriculum, (c) a commercial curriculum, (d) an industrial arts curriculum, or other variants of the curriculum patterns. It is not uncommon for very large schools to have six to ten, or even more, distinct curriculums. Possibly the most commonly found number for medium-sized schools is three curriculums: (a) College Preparatory, (b) General, and (c) Commercial or Industrial. This does not mean that there are no two subjects the same in the different curriculums. English, for example, will be found in each curriculum although the amount and sometimes the nature of the content and the methods of teaching employed vary. Whereas the single curriculum permits the pupil to follow any interest he may wish after he has satisfied the basic required courses, the multiple curriculum represents closed patterns which are presumed to fulfill definite purposes. The student who elects a given curriculum is expected to complete the courses that particular pattern designates.

What have been the traditional concepts? The use of the term "curriculum" above has followed the older accepted connotations of the word. To an older generation the curriculum would simply mean all the subjects studied or offered in school. Popularly, the curriculum has been thought of as those compendiums of information and skills which the school has made available for study. In antiquity our word was derived from the Latin word *curriculum*, which means literally "a race course." It came to mean whatever was offered in the school to be learned. As a result, Western civilization has come to think of the school curriculum as a collection of subject matter which the pupil is to study in some order of sequence toward some general goal, though such goal may be vague or poorly defined.

In its evolution our conception of the curriculum has taken on particular meanings that the teacher should understand clearly. Only in that way can the gap be bridged between the older ideas associated with the curriculum and the newer ones rapidly coming into acceptance. From ancient times education has been thought of as the acquisition of the knowledge needed by youth to participate successfully in life. It has received its popular phrasing as "the transmission of the cultural heritage" from an older to the oncoming generation. Among primitive

peoples this concept of the curriculum was almost literally carried out. The elders of the tribe gathered at the initiatory ceremonies to pass on the accepted accumulated wisdom of the adults to youths about to accept adult status. As knowledge became more voluminous, devices gradually taking on the pattern of our schools were evolved to pass on the "cultural heritage." The present complex curriculum patterns reflect the fact that there is too much accumulated knowledge for one person to acquire, so that some attempt at selection has been found necessary. In back of this idea of education as knowledge was the notion that the human brain was a receptacle in which almost unlimited knowledge could be stored to be drawn upon when needed.

Another notion about learning which has had a profound effect upon the conception of the curriculum was commonly known as "mental discipline" or "mind training." The brain was supposed to consist of different divisions with each division performing a certain mental function: one part was devoted to reason, one to judgment, another to imagination, and so on, covering a wide range of mental processes. For example, that portion of the brain concerned with the reasoning function could be built up and strengthened through education so that whenever or wherever reason was needed the reasoning power of the mind would exert its effectiveness irrespective of the nature of the demands placed upon it. One would have equal competence to reason in areas as diverse as those of philosophy, economics, or ordinary social relationships. This point of view, although it still stressed subject matter as the curriculum, placed its primary emphasis upon the organization of subject matter rather than the content value of the knowledge learned.

Among our citizens these two notions of learning are widely held in a somewhat confused form as they affect the conception of the curriculum. Unfortunately, these confused ideas of the nature and function of the curriculum are found frequently among the older, less informed members of the profession.

What are the newer concepts? For a number of years a radically different conception of the curriculum has been coming into usage among the vanguard of educational leaders. Frequently the definition of curriculum met in modern educational

writings is stated as "The curriculum consists of the experiences the learner has under the direction of the school." To emphasize the full significance of the difference between the old and the new concepts of the curriculum, another writer has given this definition: "The curriculum consists of all the experiences which the child has, irrespective of their character or when or where they take place."¹ This definition, although it makes vividly clear the full implications of the new conception of the curriculum, has only limited value for the school.

Modern psychologists tell us that we learn through an interaction of the whole learner, not just the brain, with the environment. As a person tries to make satisfactory adjustments to situations which confront him, modifications in his total behavior pattern, imperceptible or great, take place. This change in the behavior pattern of the individual is called *learning*. The over-all process by which he makes this attempted adjustment to a situation is called an *experience*.

As a result, the curriculum now focuses attention upon what kind of experiences the learner should have rather than upon the subjects he should study. This requires a complete reorientation of our thinking toward the curriculum and the way learning takes place.

How do the new concepts influence the curriculum? The curriculum changes taking place under the impetus of new ideas of learning and experience are many and varied. Among the more spectacular changes which can be attributed directly to the new concept of the curriculum are those that have been undertaken in state-wide curriculum revision programs. Most notable among these are the state curriculum programs of Virginia and Mississippi. Arkansas, Florida, Missouri, and New Mexico have made most significant progress also.

Virginia was the first state to accept the definition of the curriculum as "experience" and attempt to develop a program consistent with the definition. Instead of considering the things the learner was to memorize for storage, the question was asked, What kind of individual should he be? What kind of attitudes should he express in his general behavior as a social

¹See also Norton, John K. and Norton, Margaret A., *Foundations of Curriculum Building*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1936, p. 548.

being? Aims were stated in terms of what such a desirable individual should be. The aim—"The Attitude of Tolerance"—would express itself in these characteristically desirable ways:

The desire to develop the spirit of good will toward individuals and groups whose race, religion, nationality, beliefs, or ways of living differ from one's own. The disposition to be courteous in all contacts with people. The tendency to avoid personality conflicts in the home. The disposition to show consideration for imperfections in others. Unwillingness to exploit one's fellow man.²

The same form was used for the other two classes of aims designated "generalizations" and "special abilities."

After the aims are set up in this form, the question naturally arises, Where will the learner have the necessary experiences in a lifelike environment to produce the desired behavior patterns in keeping with these aims? The Virginia curriculum workers decided that the correct environment would be found in the performance of the natural functions of social life. This side-tracked the time-honored array of subjects and subject-matter courses that the pupil was expected to master. Instead, an attempt was made to canvass the total range of the normal functions of social life that one would probably participate in with reasonable effectiveness, as expressed in working attitudes, generalizations or understandings, and special abilities.

To insure a wealth of experiences covering all these functions, those that appeared to have some basis of affinity were classified broadly. Eleven classifications or areas of the "major functions of social life" were decided upon.

1. Protection and Conservation of Life, Property, and Natural Resources
2. Production of Goods and Services and Distribution of the Returns of Production
3. Consumption of Goods and Services
4. Communication and Transportation of Goods and People
5. Recreation
6. Expression of Aesthetic Impulses
7. Expression of Religious Impulses
8. Education

²*Tentative Course of Study for the Core Curriculum of Virginia Secondary Schools, Grade VIII*. Richmond, Virginia: State Board of Education, 1931, p. 3

9. Extension of Freedom
10. Integration of the Individual
11. Exploration³

To orient the work of each grade and to insure some bases of limitation for the grade, as well as to provide for sequence in the growth of the learner, "centers of interest" were selected. The Grade I center of interest is quoted as explanatory of the others chosen for other grades.

Home and School Life: The curriculum for Grade I grows out of the pupils' interest in the life of their homes and their school. The program of instruction can be made significantly interesting and educational by utilizing the vital experiences which the home and the school present daily in the form of challenging problems to young children. The activities related to the problem of obtaining and preparing food may include experiences in raising vegetables, feeding pets, assisting in the preparation of food for the school lunch, and many similar experiences in which children of this age can successfully engage. These experiences should lead the child to see the relationships of sun, water, and soil to growing vegetables; the consequences which result from improper care of pets; and the responsibilities of father, mother and children in performing the duties of the home circle.

Similarly, other activities emphasizing the various aspects of home and school life, such as, protection and maintenance of life and health, production of and consumption of clothing and shelter, transportation, play and recreation, and beautifying the environment, lend themselves uniquely to worthwhile exploration by children of the first grade.

The experiences provided in Grade I should lead children to accept and to discharge effectively their responsibilities as members of the home and school groups. This will be achieved as children develop desirable generalizations to guide their actions at home and school.⁴

A sample of the "Scope and Sequence" from Grade I to Grade XI for two areas will illustrate the general plan of organization. It will make abundantly clear how far away from the old curriculum the new kind of curriculum can get.

Virginia has set the pace for most of the states who have followed this general plan of curriculum organization by setting up a core curriculum for the secondary grades. This is a frank compromise with the logic of the new curriculum ideas.

³*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

TABLE 14

SCOPE OF THE WORK IN THE CORE CURRICULUM^a

| | Grade I <i>Home and School Life</i> (Center of Interest) | | Grade II <i>Community Life</i> (Center of Interest) | | Grade III <i>Adaptation of Life to Environmental Forces of Nature</i> (Center of Interest) | |
|---|--|--|--|--|---|--|
| | Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis. | | Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis. | | Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis. | |
| Major Functions of Social Life | How do we protect and maintain life and health in our home and school? | | How do we in the community protect our life, health, and property? How do animal and plant life help people in our community and how are they protected? | | How do people, plants, and animals in communities with physical environments markedly different from ours protect themselves from forces of nature? | |
| Production and conservation of life, property, and natural resources. | How do the things we make and grow help us? | | What do we do in our community to provide goods and services? | | How do environmental forces of nature affect the goods produced in different communities? | |

^a *Tentative Course of Study for the Core Curriculum of Virginia Secondary Schools, Grade VIII.* Richmond, Virginia: State Board of Education, 1934, pp. 16-19.

TABLE 14 (Cont'd)

FOR VIRGINIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

| <i>Grade IV</i> <i>Adaptation of Life to Advancing</i> <i>Physical Frontiers</i> (Center of Interest) | <i>Grade V</i> <i>Effects of Inventions and Discoveries upon Our Living</i> (Center of Interest) | <i>Grade VI</i> <i>Effects of Machine Production upon Our Living</i> (Center of Interest) | <i>Grade VII</i> <i>Social Provision for Cooperative Living</i> (Center of Interest) |
|--|--|---|---|
| Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis. | Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis. | Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis. | Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis. |
| How does frontier living affect the protection of life, property, and natural resources? | How do inventions and discoveries alter our ways of protecting and conserving life, property, and natural resources? | How does machine production lead to the conservation and to the waste of life, property, and natural resources? | How do social and governmental agencies protect and conserve life, property, and natural resources? |
| How does frontier living modify and how has it been modified by the production and distribution of goods and services? | How do inventions and discoveries affect the variety and availability of goods? | How does machine production increase the quantity and variety and change the quality of goods? | Why are governmental monopolies established for the provision of certain services? |

TABLE 14 (Cont'd)

| Grade VIII <i>Adaption of Our Living Through Nature, Social and Mechanical Inventions, and Discoveries (Center of Interest)</i> | Grade IX <i>Agrarianism and Industrialism and Their Effects upon Our Living (Center of Interest)</i> | Grade X <i>Effects of Changing Culture and Changing Social Institutions upon Our Living (Center of Interest)</i> | Grade XI <i>Effects of a Continuously Plan- ning Social Order upon Our Living (Center of Interest)</i> |
|--|---|---|---|
| Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis. | Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis. | Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis. | Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis. |
| How and why do nature and agencies resulting from invention and discovery affect the protec- tion and conservation of life and property? | How and why does the change from an agrarian to an indus- trial order affect the use and conservation of natural re- sources? | Why is advancement in the pro- tection and conservation of life and property essential in a changing society and how can it be achieved? | How can nations through social planning guarantee to all the protection of life, property, and natural resources? |
| How does man depend upon plant life, animal life, and min- erals, and how do inventions and biological discoveries increase man's use and control of nature? | How does the change from an agrarian to an industrial so- ciety affect the production and distribution of goods and serv- ices? | How can we improve production, establish an economic balance between production and con- sumption, and provide for a more equitable distribution of the returns of production? | How can nations plan for the establishment of proper economic interdependence by apportioning the production of goods and services and by distributing these more equitably to the consumer? |

A check of the approach used, however, makes it clear that the apparent reversion to the subject-matter approach is more in the appearance than in the reality. The subject fields have been used as a springboard but only to orient the method of approach. The sample of Aspect 1 will indicate the way the core idea is exploited.

Modifications of the curriculum plan outlined at some length above have taken place in Virginia and the states which subsequently accepted the general idea pioneered in Virginia. The general plan, in some form, has had extensive use. One smaller community to popularize a refinement of the Virginia plan has been Santa Barbara, California.⁹

Another typical example of the many changes in curriculum practices brought about by these newer concepts of the curriculum may be illustrated by the innovations reported in the school program at Holtsville, Alabama. This consolidated rural high school is located about five miles from Deatsville, its nearest town. The ideal of this school is to create better living conditions in the community for all. The entire program of the school is organized around this idea. The school did not do away with the time-respected subjects but shifted the emphasis from subject to function. The primary value of anything studied has been determined by its contribution to the enrichment of the life of the community. Content is not studied for its own sake.

The Holtsville school found that much of the commercially canned fruit and vegetables used in the community could be raised there and made a source of substantial income above local consumption. This, plus the discovery that the community's heavy meat spoilage could be saved if proper refrigeration and canning facilities were available, led to action. The school secured federal and state aid to construct and equip a plant. The home economics department looks after the canning. Especially trained boys look after the refrigeration plant and cold-storage rooms. A chick hatchery has been installed under the management of students. A power-spray machine was purchased with which students spray farmers' orchards. Ter-

⁹For extended description see *Developmental Curriculum*. Bulletin No. 1, Revision No. 1. Santa Barbara City Schools, Santa Barbara, California, 1947.

racing, contour plowing, pruning fruit trees, and services of this kind are practical aids the students provide for the community through direct learning experiences in vocational agriculture. The girls enjoy similar experiences through practical home-redcoration projects, remaking of clothing, and designing draperies for home use.

TABLE 15

ASPECT 1

HOW AND WHY DO NATURE AND AGENCIES RESULTING FROM INVENTION AND DISCOVERY AFFECT THE PROTECTION AND CONSERVATION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY?

| <i>Social Studies</i> <i>Leads to units of work</i> | <i>Language Arts</i> <i>Leads to units of work</i> | <i>Science</i> <i>Leads to units of work</i> | <i>Mathematics</i> <i>Leads to units of work</i> |
|---|---|--|--|
| How do life, fire, and accident insurance provide protection of life and property? | How do customs, individual motives, and environment of people affect their effort to protect and conserve them? | How does man protect himself and animals against communicable diseases? | How does a system of measurements contribute to the advancement of health, comfort, and welfare of persons and conservation of property? |
| How does mechanical invention emphasize material values at the expense of human values? | What family and community agencies are used to protect and conserve life and property? | How are substances like wood, iron, and textiles kept from wasting away? | How do life, fire, and accident insurance provide protection of life and property? |
| How and why does the government enact and enforce protective laws? | | How and why is food kept from spoiling? | |

Among the many other activities of this high school the pupils edit the only weekly paper for the community; run a co-operative store, at which many of their own products are sold such as toothpaste made by their own school chemistry department; show films five times a week for the community with a minimum admission charge; maintain a game-loan library from which in one week in January, 1940 there were 153 games checked out. A bowling alley has been built in connection with

¹*Ibid.*, p. 42.

the gymnasium and is open to the public in the evenings. The school grounds have been planned for additional community recreational activities.*

Literally thousands of variants of the two examples of curriculum modifications outlined above are under way throughout the United States; some are equally revolutionary in nature. All represent an effort to bring curriculum practice into closer harmony with changing curriculum philosophy and educational theory.

Is the period of transition here? It would seem difficult to note the profound and radical change in definition that has come to the curriculum without the suspicion that a tremendous change in the curriculum itself is about to take place. We have seen that changes are taking place and greater ones are in the offing. It cannot be repeated too often that social change is usually evolutionary, not revolutionary. Our breaks with the past are for the most part gradual and uneven. While one part is moving forward, another remains impassive and often serves to slow down momentum.

Large numbers of our schools, unfortunately, are offering to the youths of today curriculums similar to those offered their fathers and mothers twenty-five to fifty years ago. In addition to these *status quo* schools, however, there are many schools which are cautiously exploring the implications of the new concept of the curriculum. Others, exploring and experimenting boldly, are blazing pathways along the new routes. The widespread and sweeping nature of the curriculum reforms made in several of our states and planned in others, until the second world war emergency brought it to a halt, are weathervanes pointing the future direction of change.

At the beginning of the last decade more than two-thirds of the states were in various stages of curriculum restudy and re-planning. Several studies of curriculum interest revealed scarcely a city of twenty-five thousand or over that was not seriously engaged in curriculum reforms. About this time a formidable array of books, pamphlets, and articles appeared

*This school project is described in more detail in Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 1940, pp. 322-25.

descriptive of new efforts to bring the curriculum into closer harmony with modern educational thought. The descriptions covered the schools of the small, the medium, and the large communities.

The curriculum momentum of prewar days is becoming even greater than before. The prodigality with which the government spent money to get the best and most effective training across to its officers and men has given the laymen and educators a greater appreciation of what can be done when new educational ideas and plenty of money are brought together. Only the most obtuse could fail to see that the curriculum of secondary education is in a challenging period of transition.

How is the secondary school financed?

What part do local, state, and federal government have in school support? At the present time the schools receive about 60 per cent of their support from the local school district. Almost a third of their income comes from the state; a very small amount comes from the county (5.6 per cent in 1944); and only a trickle as yet from the federal government.

TABLE 16
SOURCE OF LOCAL, COUNTY, AND STATE REVENUE FOR SCHOOLS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1931-32 TO 1943-44^a

| Year | SOURCE | | |
|---------|--------|--------|-------|
| | Local | County | State |
| 1931-32 | 71.7 | 8.8 | 19.5 |
| 1933-34 | 67.2 | 9.4 | 23.4 |
| 1935-36 | 63.5 | 7.1 | 29.4 |
| 1937-38 | 63.7 | 6.5 | 29.8 |
| 1939-40 | 62.6 | 6.7 | 30.7 |
| 1941-42 | 62.2 | 6.2 | 31.6 |
| 1943-44 | 60.8 | 5.6 | 33.6 |

In 1943-44 the government reports only \$196,337,380 as a part of its contribution toward public education. In other sections of this same report additional sums appropriated for edu-

^aAdapted from "Statistical Summary of Education, 1943-44," *Biennial Survey of Education in the U.S., 1942-44*. Washington: Office of Education, 1947, p. 35.

cation are mentioned but evidently they are not considered as belonging to these general funds: they represent the unusual expenditures associated with the war effort. It is of interest to note that over the ten-year period covered by the data in Table 16 there has been a gradual acceptance by the state of a large responsibility for the support of public education.

TABLE 17

INCOME FROM GOVERNMENTAL SOURCES FOR EDUCATION, 1943-44²⁰

| Source | Amount |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| Total Government | 3,016,351,104 |
| Federal | 196,337,380 |
| State | 1,084,040,745 |
| County, city, or district | 1,735,972,979 |

What is the problem of local versus federal support and control? It has been a tradition of American education that the school should be supported by the local community. Much has been made of the fact that the federal Constitution makes no mention of education. The tenth amendment to the Constitution left education along with a multitude of other unnamed responsibilities on the doorsteps of the several states. The amendment in its sweeping nature provides that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Even the early colonial legislation on education, which first found expression in the "Old Deluder" law of 1647, placed responsibility for the maintenance of education upon the local community.

There were two major reasons for this policy. The European countries from which our early colonists came had a strong tradition of local concern for education. With the exception of Protestant Germany, education in Europe was looked upon as the primary responsibility of the church and family. The attempt to establish a federal government out of a group of highly individualistic colonies or states made necessary a careful delimitation of powers to the federal government. Religion

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 35.

and education, to the colonists, were very closely interrelated. Religion was one of the most decisive issues between the states; therefore, education was a subject that had to be ignored by the founding fathers, even though there is abundant evidence of their high regard for education.¹¹

That ancient suspicion between states is still echoed in the sensitive concern so fervently professed by the politician for states' rights against the federal government. This attitude has successfully blocked direct aid for education through any major appropriation although bills have been before the Congress to make \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000 available for equalizing educational opportunity.

There are those who oppose more support for schools from the state and federal government because they fear control of the schools will tend to shift in the direction of the source of financial support. They argue that throughout our history whenever the state or the federal government has appropriated money for any project, it has tended to assume control of the project. This has been indirectly achieved, so it is claimed, by the rigid regulations under which and for which the money could be spent. The greatest evil is not that which flows from the gradual loss of local to state or national control, either. The rigidity of the regulations imposed upon the expenditure of the money tends to put education into a straitjacket. At a time when education should have much flexibility and wide latitude with which to experiment and to meet local needs these regulations would, it is claimed, unnecessarily fasten the heavy hand of uniformity upon education.

Those who seek more state and federal aid point to the grave inequalities in educational opportunities and tax burdens that exist between communities and between states. Finance studies made in many states present hundreds of examples. In one district the school was spending \$65.00 per pupil for the education of its children. The tax rate was \$11.20 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation. A near-by district enjoyed \$128.00 per pupil to spend on its school. The tax rate for this school dis-

¹¹See Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, Chap. IV. Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934 for a discussion of this phase of the problem.

trict was \$3.40 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation. Minnesota, typical of many states with small district systems, has some school districts which do not assess any local school tax. They get their money from the county and state levies. In 1944 Minnesota had 146 districts which levied no local district school tax. At the other extreme in this same year 357 school districts in Minnesota assessed all the way from 60 mills to 1,000 mills. The state of New York in 1940 enjoyed a per-pupil expenditure for education of \$169.90. Mississippi, on the other hand, offers its children the limited educational opportunity possible on an expenditure of \$31.23 per pupil.¹² This does not mean that Mississippi is indifferent to the needs of its children, either. For whereas New York is spending only 2.5 per cent of its annual income to provide these advantages to its children, Mississippi spends 3.2 per cent of its annual income to provide the very meager education offered its youth.

Our complex society no longer can permit one district or one state to be indifferent to the educational opportunity given the children of another district or state. Mobility is a characteristic of American life. The child with the limited educational background probably will migrate as an adult to the community that was able to give its children a good education. In fact, such a community is likely to become a beacon to the less fortunate. To that extent the poor community becomes a liability to the rich one: it plagues the more fortunate community with its socially-economically illiterate and incompetent citizens. If that were the extent of the difficulty it might be possible, though of course a dubious expression of democracy, to attempt to set up immigration barriers to the more fortunate states and districts as was unsuccessfully attempted for economic reasons in the depression years of the thirties. It is not so simple. The studies made by the United States Chamber of Commerce and others show that a very high correlation exists between the educational standards of states and their economic level. The conclusions drawn were that the more education a community had, the higher its rate of income, the greater were its wants stimu-

¹²"Statistics of State School Systems, 1939-40 and 1941-42," Vol. II, Chap. III, p. 31. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*. Washington: Office of Education, 1944.

lated, and the higher its consequent standard of living. This would mean that the greater the educational emphasis, the more business and more prosperity would come to the nation. The educational fortunes of Azusa would be reflected in the prosperity of the greater factory centers of San Francisco and New York.

Educationally, as in every other way, the nation and its parts are one. That means some *modus operandi* must be worked out to secure the obvious benefits of equalized educational opportunity for all. Inequality of educational opportunity and the democratic ideal are incompatible. A way must be discovered by which money can be made available to equalize educational opportunity on a nation-wide basis without the numbing effects of rigidity and uniformity from unnecessary prescriptions. The ideal should be "all the federal money necessary to equalize education, with a minimum of controls sufficient only to insure the money's use for the broad purposes for which granted."

Can any trends be discerned in the methods of financing? The first clue to possible trends in secondary school support may be found in the over-all trends in the source of public school support. There appears to be a very definite trend to get more assistance on a state-wide basis. The data in Table 16 reveal that from 1931-32 to 1943-44 local support for education dropped from 71.7 to 60.8 per cent. At the same time state support rose from 19.5 to 33.6 per cent. This means over a third more to school support from the state in a ten-year period. The mounting agitation for a larger share of state money for school support suggests a continued rise in the proportion of state aids to elementary and secondary education.

The search for a large unit of school support with other advantages to accrue therefrom has led to the creation of larger districts. Emphasis upon county and regional unit organization has gained in popularity and momentum. The proposals made in New York state for regional vocational institutes and similar regional vocational schools in other states is a straw in the wind. Of recent years the federal government has given more financial emphasis to agricultural education and home economics education. Now there is considerable pressure for an ambitious program of vocational education under federal argis.

All these plans suggest that the local district in the future will become less and less the source of financial support of secondary education. By the same token the state, and possibly the federal government, will assume a larger financial responsibility.

How much is spent annually? The reports for 1943-44 indicate that in that year we spent \$928,892,696 for the public secondary school and \$80,820,148 for private secondary schools. The total estimated cost of secondary education public and private amounted to \$1,009,712,844. This included current expenses and capital outlay.²² Also approximately \$22,000,000 was appropriated by the federal government for vocational education in secondary schools. Our secondary schools, exclusive of junior colleges, now exceed an annual cost of one billion dollars.

What is the status of the personnel?

What is the educational status of the staff? The secondary school principal and teachers are the ones upon whom primary responsibility rests for the success of the high school. In the shadows stands the superintendent, who should not be forgotten. He traditionally carries the responsibility for the over-all policies of the school system including the secondary division. Our concern here, however, will be with the secondary school principal and the teacher.

For the most part data about teachers will be drawn from the year 1940 as the latest period of typical development of the professional staff. The second world war interrupted the normal professional development of the school staff possibly more than that of any other professional group. Data for the secondary school principal comparable to data for the teacher do not exist. A picture of the principal's background of professional preparation will be attempted from more fragmentary studies.

The National Survey of Secondary Schools, 1932, revealed that the smaller high schools had only 3.6 per cent of principals

²²"Statistical Summary of Education, 1943-44," *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1942-44*. Washington: Office of Education, 1947, p. 36.

with less than four years of education beyond the high school. There were 62.9 per cent with five or more years above the high school, of which 14.6 per cent had had six years and 6.7 per cent had had seven or more years above high school education. The larger the high school, the more training the principal was likely to have.¹⁴ Gasque made a study of the training of secondary school principals in Virginia in 1936. He found that 66 per cent had attained the Bachelors degree, whereas only 5.63 per cent had not. On the other hand 28.15 had received the Masters degree and .22 per cent held the Doctors degree.¹⁵ An extensive study of the qualifications of secondary school principals in seven of the North Central states was reported by Sifert in 1942.¹⁶ He found 53.1 per cent held the Bachelors degree, and, in addition, 44.8 per cent held the Masters degree and 2.07 per cent had received either the Ph.D. or Ed.D. degrees.

In many states now, as in Minnesota, it is not possible for anyone to receive certification to be a principal in the larger high schools without the equivalent of the Masters degree. In fact to be fully accredited by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges it is necessary for the principal to possess the Masters degree. Similar requirements for the secondary school principal of accredited schools in the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges are specified.

The National Education Association, in 1940, reported that the average teacher in the urban junior high school had 4.5 years of education beyond the high school and the senior high school teacher averaged 4.8 years or more beyond high school education. Thirty-seven per cent of the senior high school teachers had five years or more of education above the high school.¹⁷

¹⁴Ferriss, E. N., Gaumnitz, W. H., and Brammell, P. R., *The Smaller Secondary Schools*, Bulletin No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education. Washington: Office of Education, 1933, p. 58.

¹⁵Gasque, Quincy Damon, *The Inservice Training of Secondary School Principals in Virginia*. Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 1936.

¹⁶Sifert, E. R., *A Study of the In-Service Education of High School Principals in a Selected Group of Schools*. Doctor's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1942, p. 108.

¹⁷*The Status of the Teaching Profession*. Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, March, 1940, p. 57.

Most of our states now have certification laws which specify certain education courses which teachers must take as part of their minimum professional preparation. Several states now require five years above the high school as the minimum for certification for teaching in the secondary schools. The amount of time required for professional courses is on the increase. More emphasis is now placed upon actual student teaching as part of certification requirement and definite plans for some form of internec training are under way in many teacher training centers. There is a definite trend away from highly specialized work in limited subject-matter areas and a demand for a more general background of education for the secondary school teacher.

What are the experience qualifications? Whether teaching has become a profession has been much debated. One of the accepted indexes of a professional status is the extent of the stability represented by the group in question. Since no definite number of years has ever been agreed upon in teaching, the answer cannot be definitive. It is generally agreed that, if it has not yet arrived, a professional status among the secondary school principals, particularly of our larger schools, is rapidly approaching.

The median years of teaching and administrative experience of principals reported in the study of *The Smaller Secondary Schools* is 9.3 years for the principals of all schools and 15 years for those in the larger high schools.¹⁸ Sifert found the median teaching and administrative experience of principals in the seven North Central states to be 25 years with a median of 11 years in their present positions.¹⁹ When half the group has given a quarter of a century to its vocation, the group should be able to claim professional status.

The teachers also have been rapidly moving toward professional status. The average length of the teaching experience of all teachers in 1920 was 4 years. In 1940 this had been lengthened to 10 years. The average length of service was 13.3 years for urban junior high schools and 13.6 years for the urban

¹⁸Ferriss, E. N., Gaumnitz, W. H., and Brammell, P. R., *op. cit.*, p. 6a.

¹⁹*A Study of the In-Service Education of High School Principals*, p. 73.

senior high schools. A comparison of the average ages of urban teachers over the period 1930-1940 shows an upward trend in teacher age. In 1930 the average age of junior high school teachers was 30, and of senior high school teachers was 29. By 1940 the average age of both groups had risen to 34 years. It would be fair to say then that the typical secondary school teacher today is 35 years old and has taught school for fourteen years.²⁰

The problem of a profession is not only one of age and total years in a vocation, stability also assumes a degree of permanency in one community. Mobility has been characteristic of the teaching vocation. It is estimated that more than half the teachers in the United States have held positions in two or more school systems. In one- and two-teacher schools teacher turnover has averaged two out of five each year. On the other hand, elementary school teachers in cities with more than 100,000 population have an annual mobility ratio of only 1 in 20. In the urban areas teaching may be said to be rapidly approaching the stability required of a profession.

What is the sex distribution? The teaching staff is predominantly feminine in composition. There were 680,752 women and 194,725 men public elementary and secondary school teachers in 1940. That is, in 1940 men made up 22.2 per cent of the public school teaching staff. From a high of 42.8 per cent of men teachers in 1880 there was a rapid decline in the ratio of men to women teachers to 1920 when the percentage reached a low of 14.1. The effect of the first world war may account for the extreme low reached in that year. The next two decades marked a slight increase of men teachers. The rural areas have more men than do the urban centers, but the balance is still on the side of the women teachers. The percentage of men teachers in urban as compared to rural areas for 1940 was 20.4 and 23.9 respectively.²¹

²⁰*The Status of the Teaching Profession*. Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, March, 1940, p. 59.

²¹"Statistics of State School Systems, 1939-40 and 1941-42," Vol. II, Chap. III, pp. 39, 46. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938-40 and 1940-42*. Washington: Office of Education, 1944.

Women made up 88 per cent of the teachers in elementary schools, 62 per cent in the reorganized high schools, and 56 per cent in the regular and vocational high schools.²²

What provisions have been made for tenure and retirement? Few groups have been more at the mercy of the employing officials than have teachers. The annual character of their employment has accentuated the problem of tenure. As a consequence, tenure has been a matter of considerable concern to the profession. Rapid strides have been made within the past few years to set up teacher employment safeguards.

Three major types of employment policies govern the terms of teacher employment. The type most commonly used, and the least desirable one, is that of annual election. Some states have laws which deny the Board of Education the right to enter into a contract with a teacher for more than one school year. Under this kind of a contract the teacher may or may not be re-employed at the close of the year without any obligation for further employment resting upon either teacher or school board. A study showed that 47 per cent of the cities reporting in 1941 were under this system. The smaller the community, the more prevalent was the practice of the annual contract.

The second form of contract, which has been coming into usage as an improvement over the annual contract, is known as the continuing contract. Seven states provide for continuing contracts on a state-wide basis. Several states, such as Minnesota, make continuing contracts operative in certain classes of districts. Under this type of contract the Board of Education must notify the teacher by a certain date that his contract will terminate at the close of the school year or the contract is automatically continued for another year or until such legal notice is given. Thirteen per cent of the cities reporting in 1941 were under the continuing contract plan.

The third type of tenure, the one most favored, is the permanent tenure plan. Usually a probationary period of two to three years precedes the permanent tenure status. The teacher is employed and is on trial for whatever length of time is legally specified as probationary. If three years is the legal proba-

²²*The Status of the Teaching Profession*. Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, March, 1940, p. 57.

tionary period, the teacher may be discharged at any time during the three-year period at the discretion of the school. Should the teacher be permitted to begin the fourth year of teaching, permanent tenure is assumed. After permanent tenure is assured, dismissal is possible only for specified cause such as insubordination, immorality, or gross negligence; and this usually can be done only after trial on the charges. The study made of tenure practices of cities in 1941 showed 40 per cent of the cities enjoyed permanent tenure.²³ In 1946 six states and Hawaii had state-wide tenure after a probationary period; ten provide for permanent tenure in certain types of districts. There has been marked advance in tenure legislation over the past decade. Several states have passed state-wide tenure laws within the past dozen years.

Closely akin to tenure protection in the mind of the teacher is the question of financial safeguards for old age. Unlike tenure, retirement plans have a long history. Prior to 1920 most teacher retirement or pension plans went on the rocks because of unsound actuarial provisions. But teacher pension plans were not alone in bankruptcy; many insurance companies also found it necessary to establish a new actuarial basis.

Teacher retirement plans have persisted, have become more inclusive in scope of services covered, and have grown in popularity. In 1945 state-wide, joint-contributory retirement plans were in operation in 44 states. The states of Delaware, New Mexico, and Rhode Island have state-wide retirement plans to which teachers are not required to contribute. So complete is the spread of retirement legislation that on April 30, 1945, there were 98.5 per cent of teachers living under joint-contributory plans, and 1.0 per cent under wider plans to which teachers do not contribute; only 0.5 per cent teachers had no retirement protection.²⁴ Since many of the systems are voluntary, it does not mean that only 0.5 per cent do not participate.

The amount of money the teacher may draw for disability

²³*Teacher Personnel Procedures: Selection and Appointment*, Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, March, 1942, p. 73.

²⁴*Statistics of State and Local Teacher Retirement Systems, 1943-44*, Research Bulletin. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, April, 1945, pp. 29-32.

or for old age retirement is not as much as could be desired. The payments, however, do not compare unfavorably with usual retirement allotments of this kind. The median amount paid in 1943-44 among all systems for service retirement or superannuation was \$558, and \$425 for disability retirement. There are substantial variations because, on the joint-contributory basis, there will be unequal amounts to the credit of teachers who have been in a longer or shorter time before age retirement or disability. Then, too, the same rates are not in effect among the several systems. It is to be expected the benefits will increase on the average as teachers develop longer tenures under existing retirement disability plans. The operation of the present retirement benefits is a real asset to the attractiveness of teaching as a profession.

How do salaries rank? The salaries of secondary school principals as of 1940 do not represent the true salary picture of these positions. Because of the heavy curtailment of salaries during the depression period of the early thirties, salaries over the ten-year period 1930-31 to 1940-41 represent a definite decline. The cities of 2,500 to 5,000 population show a decline of -10.08 per cent for junior high school principals and of -11.11 for high school principals for the ten-year interval. The cities tend to overcome the early losses as they increase in size, so that cities of 100,000 population and over show 1940-41 salaries of junior high school principals only -2.16 per cent below the 1930-31 level and of high school principals -5.76 per cent below 1930-31. It seemed that the stimulation of personnel shortages of the second world war was necessary to bring salaries above the 1930-31 level. The smaller cities felt the stimulus of the war much more than did the larger cities. The small cities of 2,500 to 5,000 population showed an increase of salaries over the 1930-31 to 1944-45 period of 25 per cent for junior high school principals and 14.7 per cent for high school principals. Cities over 100,000 population show a very nominal increase for this period of 3.5 per cent for junior high school principals and 4.1 per cent for high school principals. Salaries of principals have become better, as is shown in Table 18. In 1944-45 over sixty high school principals received salaries of \$10,000 or more.

TABLE 18

MEDIAN SALARIES OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
IN CITIES FOR THE YEARS 1930-31, 1940-41, AND 1944-45^a

| Positions | Years | Median Salaries | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | Cities 2,500- 5,000 | Cities 5,000- 10,000 | Cities 10,000- 50,000 | Cities 50,000- 100,000 | Cities over 100,000 |
| Principal—junior high school | 1930-31 | 1,775 | 2,184 | 2,761 | 3,355 | 4,500 |
| | 1940-41 | 1,595 | 1,992 | 2,598 | 3,175 | 4,403 |
| | 1944-45 | 2,219 | 2,563 | 3,077 | 3,651 | 4,657 |
| Principal—high school | 1930-31 | 2,403 | 2,825 | 3,613 | 4,281 | 5,100 |
| | 1940-41 | 2,136 | 2,596 | 3,303 | 4,000 | 4,806 |
| | 1944-45 | 2,757 | 3,239 | 3,657 | 4,396 | 5,310 |

It is not possible to make a direct comparison of principalships in the cities with those in the rural areas, for duties are not as clear-cut, and classifications group administrators together. Non-teaching administrators in rural areas in 1937 received an average salary of \$1,871 and teaching administrators received \$1,252.

The salaries of teachers reflect the general pattern of principals' salaries. The larger the community and the better trained the teacher, the higher is the salary level. If all teachers are considered, the 1940 average for rural teachers was \$830 and it was \$1,900 for urban teachers. In 1937 rural high school teachers received, on the average, \$1,047; whereas in the smaller cities with populations under 5,000 in 1940 teachers received \$1,428 and in cities over 100,000 in the same year \$2,768. The 1944-45 salaries of high school teachers in cities over 100,000 had risen to a \$3,214 average. It may be of interest to teachers to know that in 1944-45 there were considerably over 5,000 secondary school teachers who received salaries of \$4,500 or more.

So that the prospective secondary school administrator or

^a*Salaries of City-School Employees, 1944-45. Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, February, 1945, pp. 6-10 for data.*

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high school teacher can compare incomes for the teaching profession with the incomes of other professions, it may be well to start with the over-all incomes of American wage earners. The 1940 United States Census reports that for 1939 the average wage or salary in the United States amounted to \$800 for workers of both sexes. The average wage or salary was \$540 for women and \$967 for men. A study of income by families for 1935-36 was made by the National Resources Committee. The data were reported as follows:

- 14 per cent of all families received less than \$500.
- 42 per cent of all families received less than \$1,000.
- 65 per cent of all families received less than \$1,500.
- 87 per cent of all families received less than \$2,500.
- 10 per cent of all families received \$2,500-5,000.
- 2 per cent of all families received \$5,000-10,000.
- 1 per cent of all families received \$10,000 or above.²⁶

The same study shows that single wage earners have lower incomes than families. Those whose income was less than \$1,000 accounted for 61 per cent of single wage earners. Approximately 95 per cent of all single wage earners received less than \$2,500.²⁷

High school administrators and teachers are college graduates with substantial additional training. A comparison with the incomes of college graduates in all types of occupations may help the prospective secondary school teacher or administrator to evaluate the relative economic status of the teaching profession better. In 1936 the median salary of men college graduates one year out of college was \$1,314, and for graduates eight years out of college it was \$2,383. The median salaries for women one year after graduation was \$1,092 and \$1,606 for those eight years out of college.²⁸ A study of the class of 1911 graduates of Harvard University made 25 years after graduation shows that, of the 541 members of the class reporting, the average yearly income was \$4,445. However, one-eighth

²⁶*The Consumer Spends His Income*. National Resources Committee. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, p. 4.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁸Greenleaf, Walter J., *Economic Status of College Alumni*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, p. 65.

of the class was either on relief or living on the bounty of relatives. Almost one-half of the wives of the class were working to help support the family. The investigator concluded that, of the 88 members from whom no information could be secured, most were probably economic failures.⁷⁹

A study of the income of physicians reported in *Fortune* magazine for 1938 indicated that in 1936 one-half of all physicians in the United States earned less than \$3,100; one-third earned less than \$2,000; and one-sixth had an income of \$1,200 or less.⁸⁰

TABLE 19
MEDIAN SALARIES OF MEN AND WOMEN
IN PROFESSIONAL GROUPS 1 AND 3 YEARS OUT OF COLLEGE, 1936⁸¹

| Professions | Men | | Women | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| | 1 year out of college | 3 years out of college | 1 year out of college | 3 years out of college |
| Architecture | \$1,536 | \$2,600 | \$1,250 | \$1,450 |
| Athletics | 1,366 | 1,900 | 950 | 1,400 |
| Dentistry | 2,250 | 3,300 | 1,250 | |
| Engineering | 1,500 | 2,400 | | 1,350 |
| Journalism | 1,358 | 1,875 | 938 | 1,375 |
| Law | 1,256 | 3,013 | 1,100 | 1,050 |
| Medicine | 1,050 | 3,032 | 900 | 2,017 |
| Ministry | 2,217 | 1,950 | | 2,550 |
| Nursing | 1,600 | | 1,692 | 2,000 |
| Pharmacy | 1,100 | 2,067 | | 1,350 |
| Research | 1,311 | 2,555 | 1,080 | 2,425 |
| Teaching | 1,259 | 2,043 | 1,236 | 1,793 |

Friedman and Kuznets, in their exhaustive study of five professional groups, have given some illuminating data for general comparative purposes.⁸² The median salaries for four of the professions studied are given for 1930 as follows: physicians,

⁷⁹Reported in *Time*, 28:64, 66-67, September 14, 1936.

⁸⁰"The American Medical Association," *Fortune*, 18:158, November 1, 1938.

⁸¹Adapted from data in Greenleaf, Walter J., *Economic Status of College Alumni*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, p. 72.

⁸²Friedman, Milton and Kuznets, Simon, *Income From Independent Professional Practice*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1945, Chaps. 1, 4, 6, 7.

\$3,798; dentists, \$3,911; certified public accountants, \$5,647; consulting engineers, \$6,016. Data given for physicians and certified public accountants in 1936 reveal that these professions had not yet recovered from the depression; the median salaries are \$3,100 and \$3,963, respectively. In 1934 the median salary of lawyers was \$2,028 compared in that year with \$2,378 for physicians, \$2,266 for dentists, and \$3,515 for consulting engineers. The lower one-fourth of the physicians received \$1,216 or less; dentists \$1,408 or less; lawyers \$967 or less; and certified public accountants \$2,356 or less. In spite of these statistics of relative income, Friedman and Kuznets, on the basis of all salary data available, rank the five professions in the following order of highest to lowest net income levels: consulting engineering, certified public accounting, law, medicine, and dentistry.

It should be borne in mind that the training of doctors requires eight to ten years above high school, that of dentists and lawyers five to seven years above high school, consulting engineers four to five years above high school, whereas certified public accountants, until recently, did not represent college graduation; only a few states thus far have set up such a requirement. The emphasis for accountants has been on the side of experience. The salary of accountants appears to be entirely out of line with the other professional groups based upon the relative training required.

Some other factors should be kept in mind as remuneration of the various income groups of comparable educational standards are considered. Friedman and Kuznets show a striking relationship between the income levels of the professional groups and their geographical location. As in secondary education the sparsely settled rural communities offer the lowest financial returns, and income increases with the size of the community. The larger cities offer the most attractive rewards. The fluctuations in incomes are likely to be greater in these professions than in education. Very large incomes for a few and very meager incomes for many, plus variability of income from year to year, are more characteristic of the fee-charging professions. From the data at hand it does not appear that the educators suffered as much of a reduction during the depression

period of the thirties as did the doctors and dentists. It is true that the teaching profession was less resilient than these professions in its recovery from the depression. It is also true that as a profession teaching is still underpaid compared with most professions of comparable training. The efforts made to guarantee tenure protection and substantial retirement allowances for the teacher are advantages not to be lightly regarded.

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Questions and Problems

1. What do we mean by single- and multiple-curriculum patterns?
2. As a group or committee project, trace the meaning of the curriculum as the term was used from early days to 1900.
3. What is the meaning of the term "curriculum" as it is being used by more advanced writers in education today?
4. How is our conception of learning related to our conception of the curriculum?
5. Define "learning" and "experience."
6. A class discussion or panel may consider possible implications of the newer definition of the curriculum for schoolroom practices.
7. Have individual or class reports on "newer curriculum practices" as carried out in different school communities.
8. What has been the trend in school support in terms of local, state, and federal responsibility?
9. Have a panel or class discussion on the question: "To what extent should the local community, the state, and the federal government assume responsibility for public education?"
10. Why are educators insistent upon the desirability of "equality of educational support" irrespective of locality?
11. Make studies of the relative school taxes levied and per pupil expenditures between local communities and between states.
12. To what extent have our secondary school teachers increased their average tenure since 1900?
13. What relationship exists between teacher salaries and training, size of community, and experience?

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14. Make a study of recent state and national educational associations' efforts to raise the salary levels of teachers. Have reports brought back to class. What have the local State Educational Association and other local educational organizations done to raise the salary levels and educational standards of the teaching profession?
15. To what extent are we now justified in claiming to have a teaching profession?
16. Trace the rise and decline of men in the teaching profession. What, if any, importance does this issue have in public education? Have a panel or class discussion on this issue.
17. What developments have taken place in recent years to protect "teacher tenure"?
18. What are some of the public as opposed to teacher issues in the tenure problem?

PART II

DEVELOPMENT IN AMERICA

CHAPTER IV

WHAT WERE THE ORIGINS OF OUR FIRST SECONDARY SCHOOLS?

What was early colonial secondary education like?

At least three types of education which involved the adolescent period were found in early colonial times. The most extensively practiced of these was that known as apprenticeship training. Throughout the colonies during the seventeenth century it was the custom for boys and girls of homes of modest means or less to be bound out to some master for a period of years to learn a vocation. Where parents were financially able to support their children and to provide formal schooling for them, the children were exempt from the requirements of apprenticeship training. Either the youth, his parents, or his guardians selected some trade or vocation for him, then entered into a contract with a master who agreed to teach the youth the knowledge and skills of the chosen trade over a period of years. In the case of orphans or children of indigent parents the local town officials assumed responsibility for the proper apprenticing of these youths. A formal agreement known as an Indenture of Apprenticeship was signed, and masters were required to have this properly recorded with the local town officials. Court approval also was necessary where apprenticeship was compulsory, as in the case of orphans or children of poor parents.

The usual period of apprenticeship training was seven years. There was some variation in the length of service required among the different colonies and at times, too, because the youths were apprenticed at an early age. In general it was expected, if not required by law, that boys would remain apprenticed until twenty-one and girls until eighteen.

The master, on his part, was required to provide the youth a

home, food, and clothing and to see that he acquired competency in the trade or vocation for which he had been apprenticed. In addition, most apprentice indentures specified that the youth should be taught to read and write as well as be given religious instruction. When the term of service was completed, certain clothing and money were to be provided by the master as a farewell token. In some instances the monetary considerations of the indenture specified certain wages for the latter period of the apprenticeship service. Benjamin Franklin, in his interesting account of his apprenticeship, relates that the indentures to learn the printing business that he voluntarily signed when he was twelve required that he serve until he was twenty-one years of age. The last year of service he was to receive regular journeyman's wages.¹ The terms of some indentures on record reveal that occasionally parents of the apprenticed youth were re-imbursed by the master for the labor advantages the apprentice brought with his indenture.

The laws and practices governing apprenticeship training among the colonies were not uniform although they were, in general, quite similar. Their similarities grew out of the common heritage of the early colonists. The apprenticeship system had been in existence in Europe for many generations as an accepted method of trade and vocational education. For almost a century before the first settlements in America England had, through the Statute of Artificers in 1562, provided national and uniform legislation to govern the practice of apprenticeship training.

The differences in practices among the colonies stemmed in part from the European home background of the colonists, the nature and purpose of the various colonial groups, and the general climatic and living environment provided by different sections of the Atlantic seaboard. The Southern colonies with large plantations, such as Virginia, made the establishment of schools for youth difficult. Besides, the people who settled this portion of America were not possessed of strong convictions that education for the masses was necessary or even desirable.

¹For an interesting sidelight on the apprenticeship system read Franklin's account of his experiences. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings*. New York: The Viking Press, 1945.

Here the apprentice type of education became the principal form of educational opportunity open to most laborers. The New England settlers, on the contrary, had a deep conviction of the worth of education. Their belief in the importance of being able to read and understand the Bible as a means of personal religious guidance gave incentive to the establishment of schools. The superior educational background of these immigrants who came to America for religious and political freedom gave additional impetus to education. The rugged nature of the country which made settlement in communities necessary and simplified the problem of education in large groups possibly encouraged the establishment of schools to supplement apprentice education. Even so, apprenticeship education flourished from the beginning in New England. The Massachusetts Law of 1642 was inspired largely by "the great neglect in many parents and masters in training up their children in learning and labor and other employments which may be profitable to the commonwealth." The law directed the apprenticing of "the children of such as they shall find not to be able and fit to employ and bring them up."

In New England and the middle colonies where the early immigrants tended to group in towns or large settlements the people tended to depend less and less upon apprenticeship training to provide education. Evening schools were frequently set up for the teaching of reading, writing, and religion to apprenticed youth. Greater dependence was placed upon day schools for children's training in the three R's, and apprenticeship training emphasized the vocational aspect.

Another form of education popular in the colonial period was that of tutorial instruction. This was particularly prevalent in Virginia and in the Southern colonies among the plantation owners and the well-to-do. It was available both to children and young people. Apprentice training in the South was largely restricted to the poor or lower classes as distinguished from those of financial means or the so-called upper class who employed tutors. It was customary for the upper classes of the South to be prepared for college through tutors although there were some schools in the South which prepared young men to enter college.

The most famous of the forms of secondary education available in the early colonial period was the Latin grammar school. It flourished particularly in New England. Grizzell gives a list of more than 40 Latin grammar schools which had been founded prior to 1700 throughout New England.² Approximately half of these were to be found in Massachusetts. Latin grammar schools were to be found also in the middle and Southern colonies with the exception of Georgia.³ Since education was a subject of the first importance in New England and regarded in the South with much less veneration, it is not surprising to find the Latin grammar schools much less frequent in the South.

What was the significance of the "Old Deluder" Law of 1647?

The spectacular development of education in New England, particularly the popular growth of the Latin grammar school, was not accidental. It reflected the enthusiasm of the people for education as dramatized in the now well-known Massachusetts laws of 1642 and 1647. The Act of 1642 simply took cognizance of the laxity that existed among parents and masters of apprentices in teaching children and youths under them the rudiments of learning and proper trade competence, as well as "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." The officials of the towns were directed systematically to check the effectiveness with which parents and masters discharged their educational obligations. Penalties were to be imposed where neglect was found. The courts, in turn, were responsible for the enforcement of the law by the local town officials. This Law of 1642 is notable in that it is the first time among English-speaking peoples that such a governmental body had ever required universal education of its children.

The law proved hard to enforce. Supervision of the quality of education offered in widely scattered homes was laborious and difficult. The educational results were unsatisfactory.

²Grizzell, Emitt D., *Origin and Development of the High School in New England Before 1865*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. 7-8.

³Monroe, Paul, *Founding of the American Public School System*. Vol. I. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 153.

Five years later the General Court of Massachusetts passed the now justly famous Law of 1647 known as the "Old Deluder" law. The preamble presents clearly the basic values of education in the minds of the Puritans that gave rise to the drastic provisions of this law which created an educational system in the New World never before paralleled in history. In a real sense this law, with the Act of 1642, laid the basis for our present public school system. The Law of 1647 reads:

It being one chief point of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at last the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,—

It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided, those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns; and it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University, provided, that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay 5 pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order.

Here the state of Massachusetts set up our first system of public elementary and secondary schools. For our purposes interest centers on those aspects of the law which made secondary schools a recognized public responsibility, and differentiated from an equally recognized system of elementary schools. Elementary education had as its primary function, under this law, teaching all children to read and write. The secondary school (grammar school) had the distinct responsibility of preparing all who wished for entrance to the University.

The influence of the Law of 1647 spread beyond the original borders of Massachusetts to embrace almost all of New Eng-

land. It may be well to note that, at the time of the passage of the Law of 1647, Maine and New Hampshire were a part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Even when New Hampshire separated from Massachusetts, it retained the Law of 1647. In 1721 New Hampshire strengthened the former act by placing the penalty for nonobservance of the school law upon the selectmen of the town personally. Connecticut, in 1650, adopted the Law of 1647 as a part of her legal code and even strengthened it. The Plymouth colony in 1671 practically adopted the Law of 1642 and in 1677 established the Latin grammar schools in the colony.

Since the only type of grammar school with which the New Englanders were familiar was the Latin grammar school, it is obvious the Law had the furtherance of this school in mind. The prevalence of the Latin grammar school in Massachusetts and in the rest of New England during the last half of the seventeenth century leaves no doubt that the Law of 1647 had reference to the then existing Latin grammar school.

What was the Latin grammar school?

In April, 1935, the Boston Public Latin School celebrated its three-hundredth anniversary. It claims to be, and is generally conceded to be, the oldest free public secondary school in existence in the United States. It traces its history back to the establishment of the Boston Latin Grammar School five years after the settlement of Boston. An entry in the records of the town meeting of Boston in April, 1635, indicates that the citizens "upon public notice" voted "that our brother Philemon Por-mont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of children with us."

Whether this action immediately led to the conduct of a Latin grammar school in Boston or in the year following, as some historians maintain, is not of primary importance for us. We do know we are at the beginning of the Latin grammar school movement in the colonies, and that this school was recognized as one of the best of its day. It, therefore, typifies the nature of the many that came into existence within the next score or more of years.

Unfortunately we do not have a record of a complete outline of the curriculum of the early Latin grammar school. By indirection we have many clues to the nature of the curriculum of the school. It is clear from early records that the purpose of establishing Latin grammar schools was to prepare boys for college. This is specifically mentioned in the Massachusetts Law of 1647. The entrance requirements of Harvard University as given for the year 1643 are stated as follows:

When any Schollar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classically Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; and decline perfectly the Paradigm's of Nounes and Verbes in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.⁴

Much the same entrance requirements were stipulated for Yale University. As a matter of fact, before 1800, Latin, Greek, and arithmetic were the only subjects required for admission to the leading colleges of America. Arithmetic had a long struggle to gain a place beside Latin and Greek as a prerequisite requirement for college admission. The purpose given for the Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven in 1684 suggests the major curriculum emphasis of that school:

The Erection of the said Schools being principally for the Instruction of hopeful youth in the Latin tongue, and other learned Languages so far as to prepare such youths for the colledge, and publique service of the country in church, and commonwealth.⁵

There are only fragmentary references to the early curriculum of the Boston Latin Grammar School. The earliest complete curriculum is recorded for the year 1789. However, historians are agreed that it was not greatly unlike the curriculum of 1635 because the curriculum of the Boston Public Latin School remained somewhat static before 1789. Further, it compares favorably with the curriculum of similar schools in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Bos-

⁴"New England's First Fruits," *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1792, 1, p. 242.

⁵Barnard, Henry, "History of the Common Schools in Connecticut," *American Journal of Education*, IV, p. 710. Hartford: F. C. Brownell, 1838.

ton Latin School in 1789 was reduced from a seven-year school to four years. The four-year curriculum is outlined below:

- 1st class: Cheever's *Accidence*
 Corderiu's *Colloquies*—Latin and English
 Nomenclator
 Aesop's Fables—Latin and English
 Ward's Latin Grammar, or Eutropius
- 2nd class: Clarke's Introduction—Latin and English
 Ward's Latin Grammar
 Eutropius continued
 Selectae e Veteri Testamento Historiae, or,
 Castilio's *Dialogues*
 The making of Latin, from Garretson's *Exercises*
- 3rd class: Caesar's *Commentaries*
 Tully's Epistles, or Offices
 Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
 Virgil
 Greek Grammar
 The making of Latin, from King's
 History of the Heathen Gods
- 4th class: Virgil continued—Tully's Orations
 Greek Testament—Horace
 Homer—*Gradus ad Parnassum*^a

From this it is clear that the Latin grammar school literally fulfilled its name. Historians are agreed that the better schools, as judged by early colonial standards, consisted principally of Latin and Greek with the lion's share of emphasis given to Latin. It was the ideal of most schools to conduct all class conversation in the Latin tongue. The typical Latin grammar school curriculum was six or seven years in length, as was true of the Boston Public Latin School before 1789. When youths were taken into the school at such a tender age, particularly in the less favored communities, it might be expected that many of the beginners would be deficient in reading and writing. Arithmetic was not an accomplishment of the early colonial youth. It is said that many students in the university in the

^aHolmes, Pauline, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, p. 267. Also Inglis, Alexander J., *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911, pp. 2-3.

seventeenth century knew scarcely enough about numbers to find divisions and pages in the books used. In many Latin grammar schools some instruction was given in the two R's and occasionally in arithmetic. Toward the beginning of the eighteenth century the emphasis upon the classical began to give way to the demand for English and for more practical curricular content.

Two major reasons for the heavy emphasis upon Latin and Greek in the curriculum of the early Latin grammar schools were the avowed college preparatory purpose of the school and the large place given to religion in the life of the early colonial leadership. Preparation for the ministry was a prominent reason given for the establishment of Harvard, Yale, and other early colonial colleges and universities. The religious motive played a large part in the educational emphasis of the New Englanders who accepted the religious idea of the Reformation that all men should be educated to read and interpret the Bible as their rule of life. The Latin grammar school both prepared for college and emphasized religion.

Attention should be called to the fact that the Latin grammar school was a public secondary school open to the children of all the citizens of the community. This was a distinctly new feature in secondary education at that time. A companion feature was the effort to make the Latin grammar school a tuition-free school. This goal was honored possibly as much in the intent as in the realization. It was the intent of the Massachusetts Law of 1647. The early records, however, indicate that often the public funds were supplemented by the fees assessed the scholars. Nonetheless, the public avowal of the state that it had a responsibility to provide secondary education at public expense for all children was a characteristic of this school that gave it such uniqueness for the future development of secondary education in America.

Still another important characteristic of the early Latin grammar school was that this early colonial school was for boys only. Colleges did not admit women. The colonial era was a time when the education of women was not looked upon as desirable, either in America or abroad. The Latin grammar school, therefore, was restricted to boys.

Why was the Latin grammar school so popular? That the Latin grammar school was the popular school of its day is unquestioned. There are many reasons for its popularity: it was the school of Latin and Greek, the sacred languages of the religion and learning for the Western World; it was the preparatory school for the institutions of higher learning where men prepared for the ministry or for civic leadership. And those who did not go on to the colleges were assumed to be prepared for more intelligent leadership in the local affairs of church and community. The Puritans were educated and devout religionists who looked upon this school, next to the college, as the chief bulwark of learning and religion.

The enthusiasm of early churchmen for the Latin grammar school is vividly portrayed in the account of Cotton Mather of a plea by John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians."

A grammar school he would always have, upon the Place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the Ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a Synod of these Churches which met in Boston . . . Lord, for Schools everywhere among us! That our Schools may flourish! That every member of this Assembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country.⁷

The high esteem in which the Latin grammar school was held by the local community and the state drew to it teachers of high caliber. This, in turn, served to build its prestige even higher. Men like Ezekiel Cheever, who gave seventy years to teaching, the last thirty-eight to the Boston Latin Grammar School, and Elizah Corlett, who taught for at least fifty years as schoolmaster in Cambridge, brought fame and attraction to these schools. The early schoolmasters of this secondary school were men of learning and influence. In prestige they ranked but slightly below the better clergy of the day. In fact the grammar school had many ministers as teachers; Cheever was a minister. Of 70 teachers connected with the Dorchester schools in the earlier period, 53 graduated from Harvard University and 31,

⁷Brown, Elmer L., *The Making of Our Middle Schools*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, Inc., 1902, p. 42.

or more than half of the schoolmasters, were ordained ministers. All of the early schoolmasters of Duxbury, Plymouth colony, were ministers. It was a popular stepping-stone from the schoolmastership to the full-time ministry.

Then, again, many of the early settlers of the colonies were products of similar schools abroad which gave a sense of additional importance to the establishment of such schools here. It has been pointed out that William Penn had attended the Chigwell Free Grammar School of England, Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport had attended Coventry Free Grammar School, Roger Williams went to Charterhouse, and Edward Hopkins to the Royal Free Grammar School.⁸ These are but a few of the men who set the standards of the educational life of the New World. There is a close similarity between the characteristics of the grammar schools these men attended and those of the early Latin grammar schools of the colonies. People tend to venerate the institutions of which they have been a part. This is all the more probable when people find themselves far removed from their old home environment.

It is only natural that some of the famous men of early colonial days who were the product of the local Latin grammar schools should bring added prestige and popularity to these schools. The Boston Latin Grammar alone claimed as former students such famous Americans as John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Paine, and William Hooper; all signers of the Declaration of Independence. Other names on the roster of former students include such names as Cotton Mather, James Bowdoin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Edward Everett Hale, Phillips Brooks, Edward Everett, and Charles Eliot;⁹ the latter two famous presidents of Harvard University. It is easy to imagine the prestige and stability given the Latin grammar school through students such as these.

What were its European antecedents? The fact that the

⁸Brown, Elmer L., *The Making of Our Middle Schools*. New York: Longman, Green & Company, Inc., 1902, p. 31.

⁹Holmes, Pauline, *The Tercentenary of the Boston Public Latin School, 1633-1935*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 2-3.

Latin grammar school had European antecedents was definitely indicated; there can be no doubt of the European origins of this colonial secondary school. It is of interest to understand more clearly the extent and nature of these origins because the Latin grammar school has had a profound influence upon the development of our American educational system. The persistence of this influence can be understood best in the light of the antecedents of this school.

The European secondary school was primarily a college preparatory school. For the most part it was open only to the privileged classes. As such its curriculum was influenced by the requirements of the universities, which placed great stress upon antiquity.

There were two distinct influences which are reflected in the curriculum of these schools. The first was the Renaissance movement with its emphasis upon the life and literature of Greek and Latin antiquity, and, too, a study of Hebrew. The emphasis was put upon the study of the ancient classics with an effort particularly to achieve the pure Latin of such writers as Cicero.

The second influence was the Protestant Reformation that swept Europe during the sixteenth century, and challenged the conception of religion of the Catholic church. It insisted that men should be free to determine for themselves their rules of conduct and their duties to their God as these were revealed through individual study of the scriptures. By placing the responsibility for the determination of personal religious welfare upon the individual instead of the church, it placed an emphasis upon the development of Biblical scholarship; the study of the scriptures with a further stressing of the ancient languages. Education, thus, took on new importance for these men.

The religious reform group known as the Calvinists, with their principal center in Geneva, Switzerland, possibly gave fullest expression of any group in Europe to the ideas of the Renaissance and of the Reformation. The emphasis of Calvinism upon the fundamental equality of all men and the direct personal responsibility of the individual in matters of religion, combined with the acceptance of the more formal aspects of the Renaissance stress upon the classical learning of antiquity,

molded the pattern of Calvinist educational thinking. This thinking was embodied in the form of their secondary schools found in Holland, France, Scotland, and among the Puritans of England.

Early colonial New England was made up for the most part of Puritans. This was particularly true of Massachusetts. We can trace the immediate ancestry of the New England Latin grammar school to the grammar schools with which the Puritans were familiar in England. Some of the differences between the New England pattern and its English prototype can be traced to the Calvinistic influences of continental Europe.

The curriculum of the New England Latin grammar school has been discussed in an early section of this unit. A comparison of the curriculum outlined there with the one that was in use in Winchester School, England, about 1600, shows a remarkable similarity.

- First Form: Disticha of Dionysius Cato
Exercitatio Linguae Latinae (Vives)
Dialogues and Confabulationes of Corderius
- Second Form: Terence
Aesop's Fables (in Latin)
Dialogi Sacri
Colloquies of Erasmus
- Third Form: Terence
Sallust
Selections of Cicero's Letters (Sturmius)
Aesop (in Latin)
- Fourth Form: Terence
Sallust
Ovid's *Tristia*
Cicero *De Officiis*
Greek: Lucian's Dialogues, Grammar (Clenarda)
- Fifth Form: Justin
Cicero's *De Amicitia*
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
Greek: Isocrates, Plutarch¹⁰

¹⁰Inglis, Alexander J., *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911, p. 2.

The English curriculum places less emphasis upon the definitely religious type of literature. There is, however, a striking similarity between the Latin and Greek sources used. These authorities, such as Erasmus and Corderius, were exponents of Calvinistic ideas and suggest the general influence of continental thinking upon the grammar schools of England in the 17th century.

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Questions and Problems

1. What was the nature and extent of apprenticeship education in the early colonial period?

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2. Make an extensive report on Benjamin Franklin's experiences under the older system of apprenticeship education.
3. Why were there differences in the extent of the popularity of apprenticeship education in the several colonies?
4. Report on the nature and importance of the "Old Deluder" Law of 1647.
5. Describe the early Latin grammar school.
6. When and where was the first Latin grammar school supposedly established in America?
7. A recent writer has asserted that Harvard University greatly influenced the education offered by the early American secondary school. Can you explain in what way this assertion may or may not be true?
8. How can you justify the name "Latin grammar school" as a fair characterization of the nature of the education offered by the school?
9. In what ways were the early colonial Latin grammar schools similar to and different from the schools of that nature found in Europe at that period?
10. Why was the Latin grammar school so popular in early colonial days?

CHAPTER V

WHAT FACTORS HAVE PRODUCED THE AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOL OF TODAY?

How did the religious and political motives of the colonists influence American education?

This problem was considered in part in the discussion of the nature of the Latin grammar school and its European antecedents. The early colonists represented a wide range of religious and political interests. The Church of England adherents, or the Anglicans as they were called, tended to settle in Virginia and in the Southern colonies. These religionists were devout but rather tolerant, easy going, and inclined to associate their religious outlook with a cheerful enjoyment of the good things of life. The religious outlook and associations of this group tended to make them selective and aristocratic in social outlook. The Church of England was the official religion of the government. Consequently, in a caste conscious country, as was England, churchmen of the Anglican faith were of the upper social classes, the aristocracy of England, upon whom rested the responsibility of business and government. At this time, the Church of England was notorious for its indifference to the education of the masses of England.

These colonists represented more the ruling classes of England. It might be said their motives for colonization were economic, whereas the motives of the Northern colonies were represented by a desire for religious and political freedom. There is evidence that the Southern colonies, because of climatic conditions and the resulting ease in exploitation of the richer soil, were more favorable to the immigration of the indentured classes from England who became the laborers and

servants. These indentured classes consisted of debtor groups, prison and criminal groups, educated and technically or professionally trained but poor and destitute individuals, and children and youth. Later, the introduction of slavery accentuated the class consciousness of the colonists.

The religious and aristocratic background of these Anglican colonists plus the environment of plantation life left these early colonist leaders with no consuming zeal for education except for the privileged group. The bitter opposition to any energetic scheme of education for the masses of the Southern colonies is typified by the expressed hatred and fear of education for the common man of William Berkeley, the royal Governor of Virginia. In his famous answer to the authorities in England in 1671 who sought to learn what was being done educationally in Virginia, he declared:

The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. . . . But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!

Virginia and the Southern colonies represented that *laissez-faire* attitude toward education in America which it has taken so long to overcome. These colonies were not alone in their attitude; they clearly exemplified the educational and social outlook of the Anglican church. The influence of the Church of England was felt further north in the educational activities particularly of New York and Maryland. As a result, the apprentice style of education typified the practical emphasis on education for the masses in these colonies. The same attitude, in a modified degree, was shown toward secondary education for the aristocratic classes. The tutorial type of education was as popular as the establishment of Latin grammar schools for boys of the more favored classes.

The middle colonies, of which Pennsylvania and New Jersey are the best representatives, were settled by different religious

²Henning, William W., *Laws and Statutes of Virginia*, Vol. 2. Richmond, Virginia: Samuel Pleasant, Jr., 1660-1682, p. 317.

groups, most of whom believed firmly in education. The Quakers, the German and Swedish Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, Scotch Presbyterians, English Baptists and Methodists were among the principal Protestant groups who settled this region. The Catholics had a small settlement in Maryland. The Protestant sects brought with them the conviction that each individual needed to read the Bible as a basis of nurturing his personal religious development. The presence of so many sectarian groups of divergent and positive religious convictions made anything like a state system of education impractical. Education, in consequence, became the responsibility of the several church groups. Out of this situation has come the legacy of parochialism as opposed to a state system in American education. The emphasis upon political freedom coupled with that of religious freedom was strong among these groups who had sought asylum in America from their persecutions in European countries. All this tended to make these people cautious of any schemes of education that seemed to threaten their cherished freedom. As a result, the maintenance of schools was burdensome for local communities, and, in time, interest waned in the midst of the rigors of early colonial life. The result was that the middle colonies tended to support the *laissez-faire* attitude of the South toward education although for a different set of reasons.

The English Calvinist Puritans were predominant in New England. They came to America in search of both political and religious freedom. Religious freedom was their most absorbing interest. Because they made up the overwhelming majority of the population of New England and were most aggressive in furthering their political and religious ideas, they have made the greater contribution to the development of education in America. Foremost among their contributions was an uncompromising belief in the primacy of education. They alone of the colonial groups gave explicit recognition to the responsibility of the state for the support and control of education. They advanced with clarity the principle that the state had an obligation to provide all children and youths free educational opportunity through the secondary school. To this they added the companion principle that the state had the right to require

children to take advantage of the educational opportunities provided them by the state. These principles were inherent in the Massachusetts Laws of 1642 and 1647. Thus, to New England, we acknowledge our debt for those fundamental principles which have become the foundation stones of the present American system of tax-supported, free, public, elementary and secondary education.

Why did the academy supersede the Latin school?

The opening of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of the decline of the Latin grammar school, for many reasons. As might be expected, the school maintained its original character in New England much longer than in the other colonies.

The passing of the years brought a change in the character of the early colonists. The original immigrants with their natural veneration for the institutions and customs of their homelands had laid down their burdens. The ties that held their parents to the old world had little hold upon the children. They felt a greater inclination and freedom to be critical of existing institutions in the light of the fitness of these institutions for the needs of the contemporary colonial situation. It was natural that succeeding generations should feel less keenly those compelling motives which led their forefathers to America. Their appraisal of the needs of colonial life tended to be more practical, material, and less idealistic.

The new immigrants to the colonies at the close of the seventeenth century felt the urgency to seek a home in a new land for the single or major purpose of political and religious freedom less. The chance for material gain in the new world possibly had a larger place in the motivation of the settlers who came to our shores after the early colonists had thoroughly established themselves.

Then the practical demands of a new world rapidly undergoing change demanded or at least suggested many modifications of older customs and procedures. As the early colonists firmly established themselves and began to push back the frontiers, the custom of settling in compact communities gave

way to the establishment of homes in the open country. This made attendance at religious services in the settlements difficult in the winter. The children and young people found it more difficult to attend school in community centers as the pioneering spirit led people farther and farther away from the coast towns. This difficulty was faced early in the Southern colonies with the development of plantations. In New England, where, for example, an early law required householders to live within a radius of one-half mile of the church of the town, the change came more slowly. Within a generation such laws were no longer enforceable.

The struggle to tame a wilderness and to wrest a living from a none too friendly environment, as in the Northern colonies, encouraged laxity both in religion and education. Of necessity the practical problems of making a living seemed more important than the luxury of an education. This was especially true of the Latin grammar school kind of education which was not much of an asset as a means of greater efficiency in the performance of the usual chores of the farm.

The practical demands of the new world required a more practical secondary school training than the Latin classics. Business required competency in such subjects as bookkeeping, navigation, surveying, commerce, and mathematics. The professional man had need of history, geography, logic, public speaking, government, and politics. The knowledge of French on the part of men who were engaged in government and commerce was now thought to be of more value than Latin.

A movement which had profound influence upon colonial education was the religious revival that swept over the colonies known as the Great Awakening. Beginning shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century, it continued for most of the century. It placed great stress upon the emotional nature of religion. It emphasized worship and proper social conduct as of greater importance than the acceptance of carefully formulated creeds. Its effect on education was to renew a waning interest in all education but especially in education above the elementary level. The emphasis upon the importance of social conduct and the stress placed upon the common man, or equality of men, led to dissatisfaction with the more restrictive Latin grammar

school. Instead impetus was given to a more democratic practical school which stressed social ideas and a curriculum designed to meet the needs of the time. As Monroe comments with reference to the Great Awakening: "The newer religious influences favored the building up of a new type of secondary school—the academy."²

The evolution of social institutions and institutional forms of education is relatively slow. As people became conscious of the restricted nature of the curriculum of the Latin grammar school, efforts were made to broaden the scope of its offerings. There is evidence that those schools less influenced by traditional environments did make cautious changes by adding a few practical subjects to the curriculum. The subjects most frequently added under protest were most likely to include arithmetic, reading, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, English grammar, and surveying.

The tenacity of the old to maintain itself was repeated in the Latin grammar school. Generally reform was achieved more easily by setting up another type of school. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a new kind of school in operation in New York in 1723, which offered much besides the traditional curriculum.

There is a school in New York, in the Broad Street, near the Exchange where Mr. John Walton, late of Yale Colledge, Teacheth Reading, Writing, Arithmatick, whole Numbers and Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal, the Mariners Art, Plain and Mercators Way; Also Geometry, Surveying, the Latin Tongue, and Greek and Hebrew grammars, Ethicks, Rhetorick, Logick, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics, all or any of them for a Reasonable Price.³

In 1732 another school under the title, The English Grammar School, was established in New York. It included in its curriculum such subjects as Latin, writing, all branches of mathema-

²Monroe, Paul, *Founding of the American Public School System*, Vol. 1. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 141. See also Brown, Elmer L., *The Making of Our Middle Schools*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, Inc., 1903, pp. 85 ff. for an interesting account of the Great Awakening and its influence upon secondary education in America.

³Seybolt, R. F., *Source Studies in American Colonial Education: The Private School*, Bulletin No. 28, Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, University of Illinois, 1925, p. 99.

tics, algebra, geometry, geography, navigation, and merchant's bookkeeping.⁴

Dissatisfaction with the Latin grammar school in America was not without its counterpart in England. The basis of discontent with the old was not, however, the same in both countries. There was a general discontent on the part of thoughtful men in England with the pattern of education offered in the then approved secondary school. Among these men who were challenging English educational thought was Daniel De Foe, whose famous *Essay Upon Projects*, Benjamin Franklin acknowledged as having had great influence in the plan developed for his academy which was later established in Philadelphia. De Foe had studied in an English Academy in the English language such subjects as mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, history, geography, and politics as well as French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Greek. John Milton in his *Tractate, Of Education*, and other writings advocated a more practical type of education than the Latin grammar school offered. He desired "a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." Youth were to learn about agriculture, geography, history, physiology, politics, ethics, navigation, astronomy, mathematics, logic, economics, and other phases of knowledge. Unfortunately these were to be achieved through a study of the Latin and Greek classics. Others who were stimulating a critical examination of traditional education in England include such men as John Locke, John Drury, Sir William Petty, and Samuel Hartlib. Through Samuel Hartlib and others the educational ideas of the great Moravian educator Comenius were introduced widely in England.

Stimulated by the Act of Uniformity of 1662 in England, which attempted to enforce complete conformity to the established church in matters of religion and education, those known as Nonconformists began to set up schools of their own. Before the American Revolution more than thirty of these schools, generally called Academies, were known to be in existence. One

⁴Cubberley, Ellwood P., *Public Education in the United States*. Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 63.

of the most famous of these early academies was in charge of the Reverend Charles Morton at Newington Green. It was at this school that Daniel De Foe had been a student. It was here also that Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles Wesley, founders of the Methodists, was a pupil. According to Wesley this academy possessed a bowling green, a fish pond, a laboratory, an air pump, a thermometer, and mathematical instruments of all sorts. Because of the continual persecutions he suffered in England, Morton emigrated to Massachusetts in 1685 to continue his educational influence.

Benjamin Franklin is recognized as the father of the American academy. Through him the influence of the English academy movement and those forces in American colonial life which demanded a new type of secondary education found concrete expression. As early as 1743 Franklin had outlined a plan for an academy. The purpose of this school was to prepare youth for business and "the several offices of civil life." He proposed the establishment of an English school excluding all languages. This school was to have six classes. The first-year students were to begin with English grammar and orthography. In succeeding classes they would study history, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy to "the reading of the best English authors in the sixth class." As a requirement for admission to this English school the student must be able to "pronounce and divide the Syllables in Reading and to write a legible Hand." Franklin reports in his writings that he found many men in sympathy with his plan but that many influential and wealthy people were opposed. Under these circumstances he gave up the idea temporarily.

Six years later Franklin was ready to make a compromise proposal for an academy. In deference to his more conservative friends whose financial support he needed, he now proposed the inclusion of the languages in his academy. He then drew up a statement of *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. A few quotations from the "Proposals" will reveal how far removed Franklin's idea of an academy was from the typical Latin grammar school.

That a House be provided for the *Academy*, if not in the Town, not many miles from it; the Situation high and Dry, and if it may be, not far

from a River, having a Garden, Orchard, Meadow, and a Field or two.

That the House be furnished with a Library (if in the Country, if in the Town, the Town Library may serve) with Maps of all Countries, Globes, some Mathematical Instruments, an Apparatus for Experiments in Natural Philosophy, and for Mechanics; Prints, of all Kinds, Prospects, Buildings, Machines, etc.

* * *

All should be taught to write a fair Hand, and swift, as that is useful to All. And with it may be learned something of Drawing by Imitation of Prints, and some of the first Principles of Perspective.

Arithmetick, Accounts, and some of the first Principles of Geometry and Astronomy.

The English Language might be taught by Grammar, in which some of our best Writers, as Tellotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon, Sidney, Cato's Letters, etc. should be Classics. . . .

To form their Stile, they should be put on Writing Letters to each other, making Abstracts of what they read; or writing the same Things in their own Words; telling or writing Stories lately read, in their own Expressions.

* * *

History will show the wonderful effects of *Oratory* in governing, training and leading great Bodies of Mankind, Armies, Cities, Nations. . . . Then they may be made acquainted with the best Models among the Antients, their Beauties being particularly pointed out to them. Modern Political Oratory being chiefly performed by the Pen and Press, its Advantages over the Antients in some Respects are to be shown; as that its Effects are more extensive, more lasting, etc.

* * *

While they are reading Natural History, might not a little Gardening, Planting, Grafting, Inoculating, etc., be taught and practiced, and now and then Excursions made to the neighboring Plantations of the best Farmers, their Methods observ'd and reason'd upon for the Information of Youth? . . .

The History of Commerce, of the Invention of the Arts, Rise of Manufactures, Progress of Trade, Change of its Seats, with the Reasons, Causes, etc., may also be made interesting to Youth, and will be useful to all. And this with the Accounts, in other History of the prodigious Force and Effect of Engines and Machines used in War, will naturally introduce a Desire to be instructed in Mechanics, and to be informed of the

Principles of that Art by which weak Men perform Wonders, Labor is sav'd, Manufactures expedited, etc., etc.⁶

Franklin goes on at length in a similar discussion of the use of history in promoting both an understanding and appreciation of the significance of religion for man, social and political problems, great men and great ideas of the past, and the great sweep of human progress. History would be associated with a study of Geography, Chronology, Ancient Customs, and Morality. In addition, Latin, Greek, French, German, and Spanish would be made available to those who desired to take them. No one was to be compelled to study languages.⁷

The wealthy friends of Franklin appear to have supported this new academy project quite generously. An announcement of the formal opening of the academy, dated December 11, 1750, is of interest because of the list of subjects that were to be offered:

Notice is hereby given That the Trustees of the Academy of Philadelphia, intend (God willing) to open the same on the first Monday of January next; wherein Youth will be taught the Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Account, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other Mathematical Sciences; with natural and mechanical Philosophy, etc. agreeable to the Constitutions heretofore published, at the rate of Four Pounds per Annum, and Twenty Shillings Entrance.⁸

The modified idea of an academy which Franklin had cherished began in January, 1751, as the Academy of Philadelphia. It was organized into three schools, the English, the Latin, and the Mathematical. Each school had a separate master. In 1754 a fourth school was organized, the Philosophical, in which logic, rhetoric, and moral and natural philosophy were taught to more advanced students.

⁶Montgomery, T. H., *A History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1770*. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company, 1900, pp. 497-500.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸From the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 1750-51, 2. Quoted in Mulvey, James, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Science Press Printing Company, 1913, p. 131.

The academy movement was slow to take root in spite of the general dissatisfaction with the Latin grammar schools. A few schools called academies had been established in the middle and Southern colonies but prior to the Revolution it is doubtful if any school had been incorporated by the name Academy except the one at Philadelphia.

The earliest academies in New England were the Phillips Academy which opened in 1778 at Andover and was incorporated in 1780, and the Phillips Exeter Academy chartered in 1781 by New Hampshire and opened in 1783. The first academy in New England was begun in Massachusetts with the founding of the Dummer Academy in 1762, but it was not incorporated until 1782. The tenacity of the Latin grammar school was due in part to tradition and in part to legal mandates. Before 1789 the Massachusetts law requiring a Latin grammar school in each town of 100 families was enforced. In that year the law was changed to raise the requirements to 200 families before a town was required to maintain a Latin grammar school. In 1790 there were 113 towns out of 270, which presumably had 200 families, that maintained these schools. There were 172 out of 302 towns in 1820 that came under the provisions of the law. The law was proving hard to enforce. In 1824 a law was passed that practically exempted all but seven towns of Massachusetts from the maintenance of Latin grammar schools.

In 1797 Massachusetts recognized the academy as a part of its public school system through a provision for grants of public land for their support. Vermont quickly followed this lead. From this time forward the rise of the academy in Massachusetts was comparatively rapid. There were 17 incorporated academies in 1800, 36 in 1820, 68 in 1830, 114 by 1840, and 154 by 1860. In New England by 1830 there were 168 academies in existence, and by 1850 the number had increased to 1,007, with almost 1,600 teachers and over 41,000 pupils.

A similar growth in the academy was registered throughout the other states. A study made in 1796 of the number of academies in existence in the thirteen original states lists 50 by name and mention is made of a number of others. New York had 19 chartered academies and Virginia had at least 21 such

institutions by 1800. A survey made in 1833 by the Secretary of the American Education Society reported information from 497 academies from fourteen states. By 1850 the Middle Atlantic States had 1,635 academies; and the Mississippi Valley towns boasted 753. A total of 6,085 academies were in existence by 1850 with 12,260 teachers and an enrollment of 263,096 pupils.

It was not alone the more practical curriculum offerings that made the academy so popular. The Latin grammar school in its very nature was the school of the aristocracy. It was so in England and Europe and remained so in America. From the first it was restrictive in its enrollments, not by any legal design, but by the very nature of the heritage of the school. Many of those in charge of these schools tended to create an aristocratic atmosphere about the school which discouraged those of doubtful social or economic status.

There was, on the other hand, an atmosphere of democracy about the academy. It tried to meet the needs of all. It appealed to a much broader clientele. The so-called best families, in the earlier period, were drained off to the Latin grammar school. The academy was "the people's" school. At the same time it must be remembered that these schools were tuition schools, largely, whereas the Latin grammar schools were partly tax-supported. The ratio of academy support by fees as against governmental and endowment aids is estimated to have been well over three-quarters of the maintenance costs. The estimate in reverse might not be too far away from the ratio of governmental support of the Latin grammar schools. The tuition did tend to cut off the extreme lower levels of the population, so that the academy did not become a completely democratized institution.

Another feature that added greatly to the general popularity of the academy was its cautious willingness to admit girls, although not all academies did so. The idea of coeducational secondary schools did not gain wide favor until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Old prejudices die hard. Leicester, one of the very early academies in Massachusetts, was coeducational. At least one other Massachusetts academy was coeducational before 1800. By 1860 Virginia had 255 incorpo-

rated academies, 69 of which were for girls and 20 were coeducational. Pennsylvania by 1842 had 103 academies or similar institutions, 37 of which were for girls. By 1850, the education of women at the secondary level was well under way, although predominantly in academies restricted to their sex.

The curriculum of the early academy has been discussed at some length. The practical emphasis of the academy gained momentum with the beginning of the nineteenth century. While the curriculum of the Latin grammar school remained narrow and inflexible, the curriculum of the academy was limited only by the practical ability of the local school to provide subjects. Besides, few if any legal restrictions were imposed upon the curriculum offerings of the academy for many decades. The effort to serve all the needs of the students who attended encouraged a broad curriculum offering. At the heart of the academy curriculum were the time-honored classical subjects because, as the academy gained popularity, it took the place of the Latin grammar school as a preparatory school for those who expected to enter college. Beyond this, new subjects were added constantly to meet a variety of interests and needs.

New York State, where tradition was less influential, offers a good picture of the expanding academy curriculum. Prior to 1817 more than 20 subjects were offered by the academies of New York. Between 1787 and 1870 the regent's reports disclose a total of 149 different subjects taught in the academies. It is interesting to note that of these 23 are listed before 1826 and 26 appear after 1840. The remaining 100 subjects appear during the fifteen-year period between 1826 and 1840, of which 75 were added in the very brief three-year period 1826 to 1829. The offering for 1837 alone totals more than 60 subjects.⁸ The big expansion in the curriculum came after 1825.

An aristocratic Latin grammar school with a limited college preparatory curriculum could not compete with the academy that catered to the practical needs of the average citizen. For at least the first 75 years after Franklin saw his dream take form at Philadelphia, the academies looked upon themselves

⁸See Monroe, Paul, *Founding of the American Public School System*, Vol. I. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 407 for a complete list of these 60 subjects taught in the academies of New York in 1837.

as "finishing schools." Their primary concern was to prepare youth "for life"—that is, to equip youth to live intelligently as citizens and to acquire some competency for the ordinary vocations. Facing such competition the Latin grammar schools found their waning popularity grow rapidly less. A responsible student of this period has asserted that scarcely a Latin grammar school worthy of the name existed at the close of the Revolution anywhere in New England. This appears to be an overstatement; but there is little doubt but that the Latin grammar school was rapidly losing its hold upon the people by the close of the century. Except for a few schools such as the Boston Latin Grammar School, the Latin grammar school shortly after 1800 surrendered leadership to the academy.

Why did the high school supersede the academy?

Three major factors were influential in the eclipse of the popular academy. As has been pointed out, the academy, although more democratic than its predecessor, the Latin grammar school, was still not a completely democratic institution. It was supported by endowments and by tuition. As a private secondary school, pupil tuition provided its main financial support. It will be recalled that the Philadelphia Academy of Franklin's charged four pounds tuition.

The New England precedent of tax support in the "Old Deluder" Law of 1647 provided the basis for partial governmental support of the academy by Massachusetts. In 1797 that state made provision for grants of public land for the support of academies. Other forms of charitable support were provided by both cities and states. Some academies became the subject of support by local communities. In turn they were required to become tuition free to the youth of the local community. The "free academy," as these schools were called, grew in popularity. Following the lead of New York which established a free academy in 1847, most of the larger cities of the East soon set up similar tax-supported academies. The demand was clearly for a tax-supported free school to serve the interests and needs of the masses.

A second source of dissatisfaction with the academy was its

private nature. As was true of the Philadelphia Academy which had a Board of Trustees, it became the custom for these institutions to be managed by private groups of trustees. They were self-constituted and, to a large extent, independent in the government of the academy. It was difficult for patrons and others to influence the policies of these schools. Witness, for example, Benjamin Franklin's bitter criticism of the conduct of the Philadelphia Academy trustees, because they had strayed so far from the original purposes of the academy as he planned it. Nevertheless, Franklin appeared helpless to correct the evils of which he so bitterly complained. With the growth of the academy movement and the decline of the Latin grammar school, this general dissatisfaction grew in intensity.

Boston had maintained its Latin grammar school without apparent regard for the academy movement. It had set up a seven-year English grammar school largely devoted to reading, writing, arithmetic, and a few English subjects of an elementary type. This school was not sufficient in itself for those not going on to the Latin grammar school nor did it appear to be properly articulated for those who were destined for the Latin school.

In 1820 the school committee considered setting up a parallel institution to the Latin school to be called the English Classical School. It was decided to propose a school which was to be three years in length, for boys only, and to take youth at the approximate age of twelve. Apparently the grammar school was to be the elementary school which prepared for this school, since "it be required of every candidate, to qualify him for admission, that he be well acquainted with reading, writing, English grammar in all its branches, and arithmetic as far as simple proportion." In addition the Masters were to be university trained. This proposal was submitted to a "town meeting" called in January, 1821 for the purpose of considering the proposition. It passed with only three dissenting votes.

The English Classical School of Boston opened in May, 1821 with an enrollment of over 100 students. For those who are impatient of the seeming slowness of new educational ideas to gain acceptance it is well to recall that it required approxi-

mately three-quarters of a century for Benjamin Franklin's dream of a secondary school free from foreign languages to become an official reality. The three-year curriculum offered is of interest.

Studies of the First Class:

Composition
 Reading from the most approved authors
 Exercises in Criticism; comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style of the best English authors, their errors and beauties
 Declamation
 Geography
 Arithmetic continued

Studies of the Second Class:

Continued
 Composition
 Reading
 Exercises in Criticism
 Declamation
 Algebra
 Ancient and Modern History and Chronology
 Logic
 Geometry
 Plane Trigonometry; and its application to Mensuration of Heights and Distances
 Navigation
 Surveying
 Mensuration of Superficies and Solids
 Forensic Discussion

Studies of the Third Class:

Continued
 Composition
 Exercises in Criticism
 Declamation
 Mathematics
 Logic
 History; particularly that of the United States
 Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy
 Moral and Political Philosophy

Three years later, in 1824, by official vote the name of this school was called English High School.* Thus was introduced the name that has been associated with the secondary school which is so much a part of contemporary American education. A high school for girls was opened in Boston in 1826; but in 1828 it appears to have been discontinued for the curious reason that it was so popular the School Committee found it difficult to supply facilities for all who wished to attend. It was not until 1854 that the girls of Boston were again provided a high school.

The high school movement gained momentum rapidly. There has been some question as to the growth of the high school before the Civil War. The United States Commissioner of Education in 1904 estimated that there were 321 high schools in existence by 1860, although other estimates vary widely.

Massachusetts is reported to have had 64 high schools in 1852 and Ohio 97 by 1856. After the Civil War a secondary school that was more thoroughly democratic, tax-supported, and free to even the poorest youth caught the imagination of the American people. By 1890 its rapid growth had increased the number of schools to 6,000. The rapid development of the high school after 1890 is recounted in Chapter II.

The growth of the high school was most rapid after 1874 following the decision of the famous Kalamazoo case. Up to this time there were those who questioned the right of many states to establish secondary schools at public expense where the constitutional provisions of the state had not explicitly provided for such schools. The issue had been before the courts in a number of states. The most clear-cut issue appears to have arisen in Michigan. In 1872 the city of Kalamazoo voted to establish a high school supported by an increased tax levy. A citizen challenged in court the right of the city to support such a school by taxation. The matter went to the State Supreme

*For those who may be interested in the possible origin of the term high school, historians of education agree that the name probably came by way of Scotland. Edinburgh, Scotland had a famous secondary school at this time called the High School. Professor John Griscom, of New York, had been in Scotland and had become very much interested in this Edinburgh school. His extended account of it had appeared in the *North American Review* in January, 1824. It is known that Griscom was well-known and influential in Boston before this date.

Court where, in 1874, the Court ruled that by clear inference from the state constitution education was accepted as a responsibility of the people of the state. The fact that no specific mandate had been placed upon the people to provide schools at the secondary level was not to be construed as a prohibition against the maintenance of such schools. The Court declared that school districts had a right to determine for themselves the extent of the educational program they wished to offer "if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose." This Court decision seems to have quieted legal opposition to the high school, and there was a sharp rise in the growth of the high school after this date.

The third factor which led to the decline of the academy arose with the eclipse of the Latin grammar school before 1850. In spite of the unhappy compromise Franklin found it necessary to make with his ideal of a school based entirely upon the English language, before 1850 the academy for the most part kept the emphasis upon the interests of the non-college group. As the Latin grammar school faded from the scene, the colleges found it increasingly difficult to secure properly qualified candidates for admission. It was natural for the colleges to look to the growing academy as the institution to prepare their students properly. Combined with an equally natural desire on the part of these new schools to gain academic respectability, the character of the academy began to undergo change. Primary emphasis upon the college preparatory function gradually usurped the attention of the academy.

After the Civil War financial stresses made it difficult for privately supported schools particularly to continue extensive curricular offerings. The academy gave way to college domination and reverted to the limited college preparatory curriculum of the old Latin grammar school. This was its death sentence. The decline of the academy was rapid after 1850; by 1885 there were more high schools than academies, and by 1900 there were less than 1,000 academies compared with 6,000 high schools.

At last we had come to accept a secondary school distinctly American. The Latin grammar school was transplanted almost bodily from Europe. The academy had its roots partly in Eng-

land and partly in America. From the first the high school has been essentially an American institution.

How have the college and university influenced the secondary school?

Thus far the college and the university have been seen as all powerful influences in determining the character and development of the Latin grammar school and the academy. The age-old European conception of the secondary school as the preparatory school for the university has been universally accepted in American education. The early colleges and universities of America were dominated by the traditional ideas of what Europe thought universities should be. The old world cultural ideas of universities persisted in the pattern of American universities with slight modification until the beginning of the twentieth century. In many, the old classical ideas still prevail. Consequently, the reluctance to make adaptations to the peculiar requirements of a new world with new needs has caused the university to place formidable obstacles in the way of early American secondary schools becoming indigenous to American life.

The story of the Latin grammar school and of the academy, which did make an effort to adjust its character to meet the needs of its clientele, has been repeated in the story of the high school. As the high school began to supplant the academy in America, the recurring issue of a suitable preparatory institution for the colleges and universities re-asserted itself. The gulf between the preparation given in the high school and that needed by the unbending college and university was much greater than had been true of the academy, even in its more independent days.

Reluctantly, the higher institutions of learning found it necessary, little by little, to assume more of the responsibility of preparing youths in subjects deemed essential for college admission. The acceptance of students who had extensive deficiencies to make up became more of a burden as the gulf widened. It complicated the work of these institutions and in some cases affected the standards of the colleges and universities.

Under the leadership of President Eliot of Harvard University entrance requirements were made more flexible. This flexibility, however, was chiefly that of liberalizing the lists in Latin, Greek, and English composition on which entrance examinations were to be based. Many colleges and universities began to differentiate the degrees that might be worked toward by high school graduates based upon the work that had been done. The B.A., B.S., Ph.B., and B.L. degrees began to appear about 1850 to accommodate the different kinds of preparation candidates had received in high school.

In his report to his Trustees in 1872 Eliot began to raise the issue of the lack of coordination between the high school and the college. As a college administrator, Eliot was naturally impressed with the evident failure on the part of the high school to respect college entrance requirements, in spite of all that the colleges had achieved through prescriptive entrance examinations and other devices to force the high schools into line. Two years before, in 1870, the president of the University of Michigan had recommended that a group of examiners from the faculty visit high schools. These examiners were to pass judgment upon the curriculum, faculty, equipment, and general success of the students. Where they were satisfied with the quality of work done, students could be accepted into the university without the formality of entrance examinations. This accreditation scheme was a powerful inducement to high schools to meet the qualifications of the higher institutions of learning. By 1897 accreditation was in use in 42 state and nearly 150 other institutions of higher learning.

Eliot was still dissatisfied. In a memorable address made in 1888 before the National Education Association he made a further plea for closer adjustment between the high school and the college. He was concerned that graduates of American universities were two years older than graduates of similar institutions in Europe. This penalization of American youth he laid directly at the door of the high school. As a result of his vigorous leadership a committee of ten men was appointed by the National Education Association in 1892 to consider the matter. This group became known as the Committee of Ten. Under the chairmanship of President Eliot conferences were set

up under the nine other members of the committee to study aspects of groups of subjects. They were to determine for each group the answer to a number of questions, such as, at what age should the subject be first introduced; what length of time should be devoted to it; at what stages were parts of the subject to be covered; what were the requirements for college entrance; what was the desirability of differentiating between those going to college and those not going; what were the methods of teaching; and what were the best examination methods for college admission.

The composition of the Committee of Ten must be of interest to all students of secondary education. Only one of the committee was a high school principal. It was weighted down with those primarily concerned with college entrance requirements. There were five college presidents, one college professor, the United States Commissioner of Education, a public high school principal, and two headmasters of private schools. Eight out of the ten men had interests centered in the college. The composition of the sub-committee membership was just as one-sided, as follows:

- 47 were in the service of colleges or universities
- 1 was a government official formerly in government service
- 21 were headmasters of private schools
- 14 were principals of high schools
- 2 were public school superintendents
- 4 were representatives of normal schools
- 1 was a director of a public school department

Of the ninety members only sixteen were concerned primarily with the possible function of the secondary school in a democratic society. Although the Committee of Ten made an interesting statement that "the secondary schools of the United States, taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges," they very effectively set up a recommended program of studies designed primarily for ready admission of every high school youth to college. Every recommendation of the Committee of Ten had college entrance as a foremost consideration. They rejected any suggestion of

differentiation of the curriculum or of method of instruction for those either going on to college or going out into life.

The Committee of Ten unanimously agree . . . that every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease. Thus, for all pupils who study Latin, or history, or algebra, for example, the allotment of time and the method of instruction in a given school should be the same year by year.¹⁰

A perfect lockstep system calculated to streamline all high school graduates for college. To ease the burden of the colleges for the care of inadequately prepared candidates, languages were to be pushed into the early years "three to five years earlier" than now taught. In fact all subjects were to be pushed back farther into the early secondary and elementary school. Most subjects wished more time. To economize time it was recommended that the elementary school be cut down to six years and the seventh and eighth grades be added to the secondary school. This was a master stroke in streamlining the school curriculum, putting back into the secondary school subjects then taught in college, and thus enabling youth to graduate earlier from college. President Eliot could not have asked for much more from any committee.

The Committee of Ten is of unusual importance not only because of its efforts to turn the high school into an exact mold of a college preparatory institution, but also because it ushered in a quarter of a century of persistent and effective effort to streamline the American secondary school into an efficient college preparatory institution. It is needless to enter into the details of subsequent committee reports. The listing of the names of these committees is amply sufficient to indicate their primary purpose. The next committee to grapple with this problem was appointed by the National Education Association in 1895 and reported in 1899 as the Committee on College Entrance Requirements. This was followed by another committee report in 1908 known as the Committee on Economy of Time. Another

¹⁰*Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies*, New York: American Book Company (Published for the National Education Association), 1894, p. 17.

committee report was made in 1911 by the Committee on Articulation of the High School and College. This report was followed in 1913 by that of a second Committee on Economy of Time. The final committee report in this twenty-five year series of National Education Association committees came in 1918 with the report of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary School. It should not be assumed that the college adherents had everything their own way. The 1911 and 1913 committees were developing opposition to the strait-jacketing of the high school by the college.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education report was a new charter of liberty for the high school. Unlike the times when previous revolts had occurred, no new institution was set up, but a new declaration of freedom was declared. This committee virtually turned its back upon all that had been achieved by the colleges. It declared in fact that which the Committee of Ten had rejected in practice even when it declared in fact that the secondary schools "do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for college." A general report issued by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education stated clearly and briefly the basic principles of secondary education. The Commission boldly declared that the need for reorganization flowed from the following conditions: (1) *Changes in society*. It was pointed out that fundamental changes were taking place requiring new modes of adjustment on the part of the individual in his life as a citizen, a worker, and as one possessed of greater leisure; (2) *Changes in the secondary school population*. Instead of a select group of students in the high school definitely preparing for college, large numbers of students of varying abilities do not plan to go to college. Many drop out at various stages in their education; (3) *Changes in educational theory*. The present knowledge of psychology has affected understanding of individual differences, and has changed the conception of learning requiring a re-evaluation of former ideas of "mental discipline." It has also shown the importance of applying knowledge rather than its formal acquisition, and the recognition that development of the individual is continuous, not periodic. In short, "the foregoing changes in society, in the character of the secondary-

school population, and in educational theory, together with many other considerations call for extensive modifications of secondary education." The Commission stated the general purposes of the secondary school in a democratic society in these broad statements:

The Purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and of society as a whole.

• • •

Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.¹¹

In order that these purposes of education might be achieved most effectively through the secondary school the following major objectives were set up: (1) Health; (2) Command of fundamental processes; (3) Worthy home-membership; (4) Vocation; (5) Citizenship; (6) Worthy use of leisure; (7) Ethical character.

Obviously, the translation of the basic ideas set forth by the Commission in this general report, and as reflected in the sixteen separate sub-committee reports, demanded a complete about-face in secondary education. Since 1918 the high school has been undergoing adjustments in harmony with the spirit of this declaration of emancipation. The past twenty-five years and more, since the report, have witnessed a general, though sometimes slow, change. The change has been gradually accelerated since 1930. It would be too much to expect an institution handicapped by more than a half century of college domination to become fully reoriented in so short a time. The roots of the tradition, of course, go back to the colonial Latin grammar school; and still farther back into the educational practices of Europe whence came our universities and our secondary school.

¹¹*Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917, p. 9.

Fortunately, the college and the university have taken a more conciliatory attitude toward the revolt of the high school. The same factors which led the high school to declare its independence of the tradition-bound, almost inflexible college began to affect this institution, though much more slowly. The changes in the conceptions of psychology which came with the experimental work in that field at the turn of the century have profoundly affected higher education. It has led to a more functional conception of education. There is a growing recognition on the part of the college and the university that the secondary school has a distinct though complementary educational function in our democratic society separate from that of the institutions of higher learning. Some recent studies, such as the Progressive Education Association experiment with thirty secondary schools, have given the colleges less confidence in the value of those subjects so long an undeviating prerequisite for college entrance. This study cast doubt upon the necessity of any pattern of subjects as the best means of preparing high school youth for success in college.¹³ On the contrary, it led to the presumption that there were other factors even more significant than subject matter as determinants of a student's success in college. Other studies of a similar nature have accentuated these conclusions. It is now possible for a student who has shown superior general ability and accomplishments in his school activities to gain admission to many of the leading colleges or universities without regard to any group of subjects studied. Liberalization of college entrance requirements to meet a relatively independent high school, as might be expected, is much more advanced in the Middle West and West than in the East where tradition has been deeply entrenched.

How have economic and social developments influenced secondary education?

This book is not a treatise on sociology or economics. It is necessary at this point only to indicate a few of the major de-

¹³For a report on the nature of the study, the results, and the conclusions that seem warranted therefrom see Aikin, W. M., *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

velopments that have influenced the direction and organization of secondary education. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education had this in mind when it pointed out that the need for reorganization of the secondary school was based in part upon "changes in society."

One of the fundamental social changes which has affected education, and the secondary school in particular, has been the radical shift from a rural to an urban nation. Less than 5 per cent of the population was urban at the time the American republic came into being. The rural emphasis in our population continued with relatively little change before 1850 except along the Atlantic seaboard. After the Civil War the shift in population was rapid. By 1940, 56.5 per cent of the population was to be found in the towns and cities.

This shift from the open country to concentrated population areas required changes in the school. From one-room or very small schools children were gathered together into larger units. This bringing together of large numbers of pupils into one place led at first to the separation of those of approximate age and accomplishment into different rooms with teachers for each room. Then the practice, particularly in the high school, of the separation of youths into classes by subject with separate teachers for each subject came into vogue. The development of large cities created a need for more than one school in a community. This brought about a new and more complicated form of school administration. To secure proper coordination between these schools and to handle the support of education in the community as a unit, an executive officer known as the Superintendent assumed oversight of, and responsibility for, all public schools in the community. The former headmasters of schools, later to be called principals, became subordinate to the Superintendent. Many of the tasks formerly performed by them were transferred to the office of the Superintendent.

The change from rural to urban residence has not kept pace with the shift which has taken place in the numbers who have transferred their vocational activities from the country to the city. The number engaged in agricultural pursuits in 1820 constituted 71.8 per cent of the entire working population of America. By 1940 only 17.6 per cent of the nation's labor

force was engaged in agriculture. Large worker populations in increasingly congested sections of our large cities have suggested a change in the school program to meet the needs of city youth. A tendency of industries, until recently, to attract teenage youths into their employ has created a heavy number of drop-outs for the schools, extending even to the elementary grades. The second decade of the twentieth century saw over half of our youth drop out before the completion of the fifth grade. In the high school the drop-outs among those who entered was exceedingly high. The demand both for practical vocational training and more realistic citizenship education has been widespread. The needs of the youth of the city in contradistinction to those of the rural community have required some attention.

The changes in transportation and communication have made it possible to bring the youths of the open rural country or small villages into larger school units where more diversified educational offerings and a better quality of instruction are available. The utilization of radio as a means of bringing to the school world events of interest and specialized educational programs has been a marked feature of the recent developments in communication.

These changes in the socio-economic life of our country have produced other problems that have influenced the direction of education. The institutions that once carried extensive educational responsibilities, such as the home and the church, have given up much of their older educative influences under the stress of modern life. The secondary school has been slow to fit into the educational gaps thus created, but more and more in recent years it has been adjusting its program to meet these needs.

The large numbers of youth now entering the secondary school necessitate a change in the school program. A wider range of interests and needs is registered by the students of today as compared with those who attended high school in 1880. Then the high school students were all destined for college, whereas today one finds that approximately 80 per cent of them are completing their formal education in the high school.

What has been the influence of developments in educational theory?

First and foremost among the influences of educational theory has been the clear recognition of the peculiar function of education in a democratic society. The final triumph of this idea in American education is reflected most in the secondary school. The old traditional conception of secondary education that held sway for centuries and tenaciously fought to dominate in America was aristocratic in social outlook and undemocratic in practice. Now it appears the battle has been won for the democratic idea that secondary education in America should be for all young people, and so designed that it will contribute in maximal degree to the personal and social development of each. The full acceptance of this theory has led to the intensification of the effort to make secondary education physically available to everyone and to create a curriculum of functional value to all.

The changes that have come in the theories of psychology have had far-reaching effects upon secondary education. The studies made on the subject of "individual differences" have been extensive and revolutionary in character. Until the first decade of this century our knowledge of individual differences was very limited. The fact that one man differed from another has been recognized since ancient times. Until very recent times the more subtle nuances of these differences were unknown. Education seemed to ignore much of that which was known.

Before 1900 such men as Galton, Wundt, Ebbinghaus, Cattell, Stern, and Binet were laying the basis for a better understanding of these differences. The work of Thorndike leading to his notable publication *Mental Work and Fatigue and Individual Differences and Their Causes*, along with the extent of published work of other men, finally forced the schools to take into account the principal facts of individual differences. Henceforth the schools were forced to take into account fundamental differences not previously recognized in the area of physical development and to acknowledge a wide range of mental dif-

ferences as well as those which grew out of widely different social environments.

The old idea that had gained almost complete acceptance in educational practice for many generations before 1900 was that learning consisted in training the faculties of the mind. The notion was generally accepted that mind was made of separate functions or parts called faculties. These faculties consisted of such separate powers as reason, judgment, imagination, and memory, among others. It was possible, for example, to develop the reason faculty so that whatever might be the aspect of life activity where reason was needed—politics, business, philosophy, or love—reason would be equally efficient. This has been known in education as "mental discipline." It was faith in this conception of the learning process that made it possible for the Committee of Ten, in 1893, seriously to insist that the curriculum and the method of teaching should be the same for all secondary school students irrespective of what the student intended to do or be when his formal education ceased. Another theory of learning antedating that of "mental discipline" and often confusedly existing side by side with it in the thinking and practice of older educators, has been the very ancient idea that the brain was a storehouse or reservoir in which information and ideas were stored for future use. Useful facts for adult living were taught youth in the expectation that they would be recalled and understood when needed. It was not important that the learner understand the meaning of the facts learned or appreciate their worth at the time of learning.

Under the impact of critical observation and experimentation these theories were found untenable. Mental discipline and the "reservoir" theory are no longer accepted by educators trained in modern psychology. There is a recognition of transfer of training in modern education, which is based upon the psychological fact of generalization of experiences from one situation to another. This is a far cry from the theory of "mental discipline" and requires a radical adjustment in the practices of education.

Instead of the old notion that the brain was the exclusive seat of learning, psychology now accepts the entire nervous sys-

tem, in fact the entire physical organism, as the instrument of learning. Learning is now considered to have taken place when there is a change in the behavior of the learner. This learning is now thought to take place as the individual meets situations and attempts to make adequate adjustments to these situations. Stated another way, learning takes place through experience. This revolutionary conception of the learning process has equally revolutionary implications for education, which are now beginning to find expression in revisions of the curriculum as well as in the changed methods employed in the schools.

Although it is not possible or desirable to consider the many aspects of the new psychology which has influenced educational theory and in turn secondary education, the importance of motivation in the modern conception of learning must be mentioned. Motivation is made the key to learning. The long-time insistence of John Dewey has been that learning takes place only under the stimulus of "goal seeking." He has contended also that goal seeking is the pursuit of a goal which, when it is reached, the seeker believes will relieve a felt tension or inner disturbance. These tensions or disturbances are usually expressed in terms of the needs and desires felt by the learner. The application of the modern doctrine of motivation to the secondary school is now profoundly affecting the development of secondary education, particularly in the realm of curriculum and method.

How did World War I affect secondary education?

The major influences of the first world war upon the development of the secondary school were felt in the way of intensification of existing trends more than in the inauguration of new developments. As a result of the war the democratic conception of the secondary school was greatly enhanced. The two-century-old struggle to democratize the American secondary school gained immediate impetus. The war in itself had stressed the democratic ideals for which the Allies fought. As part of our war propaganda, slogans perpetrated the idea that it was democracy *versus* autocracy at war. Men from every walk of life fought together paying no attention to social distinction.

Men and women, both in and out of the services, became more conscious of the meaning of democracy.

The premium placed upon education as part of the war effort played an important part in bringing prestige to education. College men were given special inducements to enter officers' training camps in the first as in the second world war. The need for technically trained men gave a greater sense of importance to the high school, and helped stimulate the emphasis upon vocational education which has had such vogue in the years since.

The impetus given the testing movement in the first world war cannot be overlooked. The chance to develop an infant struggling educational innovation through the opportunity for mass testing was most opportune. It advanced both the acceptance of, and technical skill in, tests so that the high school felt the impact much earlier than would otherwise have happened. The Army Alpha and Beta classification tests were used extensively in the high schools following the war and encouraged the development of other tests that influenced education.

The curriculum of the secondary school was also influenced by the first war—witness the exclusion of German from the high school, often by law. The intensification of emphasis upon the study of American institutions, particularly the almost hysterical and misguided wave of legislative mandates requiring the study of the Constitution, has not yet been fully adjusted. The emphasis upon a better acquaintance with American life and ideals was good; the mistaken attempt to achieve it by mechanically memorizing the framework of government vitiated the worthy impulses that inspired the devices. It did focus attention upon the need of the high school to insure that its students understood the meaning and values of democracy as well as their responsibility for its preservation and fuller realization. Ever since 1918 secondary education has become increasingly conscious of the necessity to bring youth to a greater awareness of the interrelation of America and the rest of the world.

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Questions and Problems

1. In what way did religion influence the early American secondary school? What was the "Great Awakening"?
2. Distinguish between the religious groups of the early colonies and explain how these groups influenced the development of secondary education.
3. To what colonial group more than any other do we owe credit for those ideas that became the basis for our system of tax-supported, free, public, elementary and secondary education? Why?

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4. Explain the forces that produced a desire for a change from the limited education offered in the Latin grammar school.
5. Benjamin Franklin is credited with being the founder of the first Academy in America. What evidence, both from America and from Europe, justifies the statement that the basic educational ideas of Franklin were already held by others and were, to some extent, being practiced before 1751?
6. Trace the decline of the Latin grammar school and the rise of the academy.
7. How did Franklin's Academy of 1751 differ from the typical Latin grammar school?
8. To what extent was or was not coeducation practiced in the Latin grammar school and the academy?
9. Compare the curriculum of the early Boston Latin Grammar School with the curriculum of the English Classical School of Boston generally accepted as our first American high school.
10. Trace the decline of the academy and the rise of the high school and give reasons.
11. What part have the college and university played in the development of the American secondary schools—Latin grammar school, academy, and high school?
12. What part did Charles Eliot, President of Harvard, play in the development of the high school?
13. Explain the importance of the Committee of Ten for secondary education.
14. Have group reports on the salient features of the recommendations of the several committees following the Committee of Ten up to 1918.
15. In what ways may the Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of 1918 be regarded as "A new charter of liberty for high schools"?
16. What changes in social and population trends and educational theory made the Report of 1918 almost inevitable?
17. What effect did World War I have upon the development of secondary education?

CHAPTER VI

IN WHAT RESPECTS ARE OUR SECONDARY SCHOOLS NOW DIFFERENT FROM THOSE IN EUROPE?

Every thoughtful American knows that our dominant heritage came from northern Europe. This was true until near the close of the nineteenth century when our major immigration source shifted from northern to southern Europe. As a result, much of American life has been influenced by the social-political thought and institutional practices that supplied a great deal of America's colonial ancestry during the country's formative years.

The development of early secondary education in America was profoundly influenced by the educational ideals and practices of the secondary schools of Europe. Far more than most Americans realize, our secondary schools have been influenced by the fortunes of educational developments in Europe. This was clearly indicated in the direct influence of the Latin grammar schools of England upon the schools that bore that name in early New England. In fact it has not been until recent times that our American secondary schools have freed themselves sufficiently from foreign educational influences to build a secondary school program indigenous to American ideals and life.

It is important, therefore, to note the principal developments of secondary education in Europe which parallel the earlier developments of our school system. In a book of this kind only the briefest overview sufficient to make clear the interrelations that have existed between education in Europe and America can be undertaken. Attention will be given to those countries which have contributed most to American sec-

ondary education. England, Germany, and France, in the order given, are considered as having had the greatest influence upon our educational practices.

What was European education like in the 16th and 17th centuries?

The secondary schools of Europe reflected the social backgrounds of the people these schools served. The history of Europe gives a picture of social cleavage between different classes of society. The newcomers to America in the colonial period, for the most part, did not recognize social distinctions, and, as second and third generation colonists grew up, the vestiges of social distinction as it was known in the homeland largely disappeared. Europe suffered from the heavy hand of centuries of sharp distinction between the ruling caste and the peasant or ordinary worker; education beyond the sheerest minimum was the prerogative of those "born to the purple." As industrial life began to take form in European countries, those with wealth began to find a place in the upper social strata. It was for the élite of the countries of Europe that secondary education existed.

A second characteristic of the secondary schools of Europe was their use as preparatory schools for the universities. The universities were classical in emphasis and highly selective of those who entered. It was expected that those privileged to study at the universities would become the future leaders in state and church, and to some extent, in the marts of trade. Martin Luther was very conscious of the highly selective character of the students who attended the university. At the University of Wittenberg it was Luther's custom to wear a skull-cap during his lectures. It was his practice upon entering the lecture room to doff his cap to the students, for, as he explained, "Perchance I may be standing in the presence of one of the future princes of Germany." The universities set up rigid entrance requirements for which the secondary schools made every effort to qualify their students.

A third characteristic of the secondary schools during the seventeenth century was that attendance was restricted to boys;

education beyond the barest rudiments was not available for girls. Many generations passed before girls could expect equality of educational opportunity with boys. They were not permitted to assume important roles in church, state, or business; therefore, extended education was not thought necessary or desirable. Indeed, it was quite generally believed at this time that women were limited in their ability to acquire learning. Thus, secondary schools were considered as of benefit for boys only. It is only in very recent times that European countries have acknowledged the rights of girls to secondary education; coeducation is still not generally accepted.

Still another characteristic of the early secondary schools of Europe was that they were privately supported. The leading European countries had not yet accepted the principle of free admission of youth to secondary educational privileges. Church-supported and privately endowed schools, and some local, municipally aided schools were able to remove part of the financial burden of maintaining these schools from the students and their families. Tuition was always charged against those in Europe who aspired to a secondary education.

As might be expected from the highly selective and college-preparatory nature of European secondary education, the curriculum of these schools gave great emphasis to the classics, those of Greek and Roman antiquity were highly regarded. The early Latin grammar schools of the American colonies were fairly representative of the classical nature of the secondary schools of Europe of that period. Since religion greatly influenced education at this time, subjects of a religious character made up a part of the school curriculum.

England. The English forerunner of the Latin grammar school of the American colonial period had its beginning in the early sixteenth century. At this time the humanist movement, also known as the Renaissance, which had swept over Italy and had begun to make itself felt in northern Europe, was introduced into English secondary schools. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's Church in London, re-established St. Paul's School about 1510 along humanistic lines. Colet had come in contact with the New Learning while studying in Florence and had returned to England an ardent disciple of humanism. He was

ably supported in his efforts to spread humanistic thought by the renowned Netherlands humanist scholar Erasmus, who taught at Cambridge University from 1510 to 1514. Erasmus encouraged Colet in his work at St. Paul's School and wrote books for use in the school, among which were such famous ones as his phrase book *De Copia*, in Latin, a book of proverbs, *Adagio*, in both Greek and Latin, and his *Colloquies*, or Latin dialogues. St. Paul's School under such competent leadership became a powerful influence in the spread of humanism to other secondary schools in England. Most of the grammar schools then in existence became humanistic by the end of the sixteenth century, and most new schools organized during this century began as centers of humanist study.

The humanist movement in northern and western Europe emphasized the scientific approach to learning and the rich heritage of the classical literature of the older Greek and Roman cultures. Coupled with this was the religious and moral interest in social betterment that found expression in the spirit of the Reformation. This interest directed attention to more careful study of the Scriptures by the individual as a means of understanding the spirit of early Christianity. A thorough knowledge of Greek as a prerequisite to the reading of the New Testament in the original gave the study of Greek grammar an important place in the curriculum of the secondary school. Since northern humanism was closely associated with the Reformation, religion continued to be an important part of most humanistic grammar schools. The catechism was a standard part of the English secondary schools throughout the sixteenth century. The principal effect of the Humanist movement upon the secondary schools of western Europe was to make the study of ancient Latin and Greek languages and literatures the basic subjects of the curriculum.

As one writer has pointed out, there were three stages through which the Renaissance movement passed. The first stage was that of a passionate enthusiasm for Latin and Greek antiquity and its literature, with a natural interest in creative activity. The second stage saw the scholars of Italy devoted to a careful, systematic study of the older cultures of Greece and Rome, their languages and literatures. The third and final

stage degenerated into an empty formalism, with the major concern that of reproducing the style and Latin usage of Cicero. "Unfortunately for northern culture, it was Humanism, in this third stage, which exerted the greatest influence upon the readjustment of the schools."¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that by the close of the sixteenth century much of the spirit of the humanism that had found its way into England and its schools had been lost. The work of the grammar schools had become very formal and directed toward the development of Latin scholars, with some emphasis upon Greek. In the better grammar schools admission was based not only upon the ability to read and write the vernacular, but also upon the possession of a certain competency in the reading of Latin. At Tunbridge and Saint Saviour, as typical of grammar schools of the latter part of the sixteenth century,² candidates for admission were required to "read Latin and English perfectly." The title Latin Grammar School, as these grammar schools came to be called, was a logical outgrowth of the predominant emphasis upon Latin and Greek grammar, Latin literature, and Latin classical literary style.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were more than three hundred grammar schools of various kinds in existence: some of them traced their history back several centuries. These schools, although conforming to the general pattern described above, varied widely in size, organization, support, and purpose. They ranged in size from less than a half dozen to several hundred pupils. As has been true of education in England throughout much of its history, there had been little effort to develop a uniform system of education. *Laissez-faire* typified the organization and control of English secondary education. There were at least five types of founders of these grammar

¹For a brief background picture of the Humanist movement and its implications that affected our early educational development in America see Eby, Frederick and Arrowood, Charles Flynn, *The Development of Modern Education*, Chap. II. Above reference p. 50. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

²The status of the grammar schools of the last half of the sixteenth century is well presented in Stowe, A. Munroe, *English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1901.

schools classified as Royal, Guild, City, Parish, and Private Foundations. A large number of schools owed their existence to the royal annuities set aside for all or part of the support of these schools. The Guilds supported a few grammar schools, the most famous of which was the Merchant Taylors School. Cities often founded and supported grammar schools, sometimes from corporation funds and sometimes through endowment subscriptions from the more prosperous members of the upper classes of the city. The interest of the Church in secondary education led to the founding of Parish Grammar Schools. The most numerous secondary schools were those founded by private individuals. It became popular for middle- and upper-class business and professional men, members of the nobility, schoolmasters, and even well-to-do clergy to establish grammar schools.

Few, if any, of these grammar schools were wholly supported as free schools from the endowments provided in their establishment; tuition was an important means of revenue for most of them. Although the foundations might provide for some pupils to attend free, most pupils paid tuition. Historically the secondary schools of England were schools for the well-to-do or privileged classes. It was not assumed that children of the masses should aspire to the kind of education provided in the typical grammar schools, which had as its primary purpose the preparation of leaders for Church, state, and the professions, that is, preparation for entrance to the universities. The degree of selectivity and the emphasis upon the ultimate purpose of the school, as would be expected, depended in some measure on the character of the founders.

Germany. Secondary education in Germany was influenced in the sixteenth century by the Humanist movement, which had infiltrated into northern Europe from Italy, and by the Reformation. The Brethren of the Common Life in the fifteenth century had established centers of humanism in the Netherlands; the most outstanding of these was located at Deventer, Holland. Many famous humanist leaders, such as Erasmus, who contributed so much to the spread of humanist education in England, and Agricola and Sturm, who became the spearheads of humanism in Germany, had studied in these schools.

The religious Reformation which came to a head under Martin Luther, had a marked influence on the development of secondary education in Germany.

Luther shared with the Brethren a conviction that even the humblest peasant should be able to read and understand the Scriptures. He accepted the new humanistic learning because it emphasized the thorough study of Greek and Latin, and even Hebrew, the keys to unlock the Scriptures in the original. He therefore encouraged Latin grammar schools in Germany through his brilliant friend and colleague in the Reformation Movement, Melancthon, also a disciple of humanism, who undertook the establishment of a system of Latin classical schools in Germany. Luther firmly believed that advanced schools should focus their attention upon the education of the leaders in the church, for the other learned professions, and for successful administration of the various civil offices of town and state. The ordinances of church and school throughout the sixteenth century expressed this dominant purpose of education. The Church Ordinance of Württemberg in 1559 provided for Latin schools in towns, cities, and the more important villages in these words, "because well-trained, wise, learned, able, and God-fearing men are needed for the holy office of preacher, for secular leadership, for temporal offices and government and for management of homes." The School Ordinances of Saxony in 1528 and again in 1580 expressed the same idea in almost identical language. Unlike the English schools, the German schools were supported and controlled by the state or municipalities in conjunction with the church. In most instances these secondary schools charged tuition as well.

Because of the religious spirit emphasized in the teaching of the Brethren of the Common Life, combined with their wholehearted acceptance of humanistic learning, their schools had a profound influence upon the development of secondary education in Germany during the Reformation period. As was true in England, there were many secondary schools in Germany in the sixteenth century teaching Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, with emphasis upon the elements of Latin and Grammar. As teachers who had been educated in the Nether-

lands under humanistic influences entered these schools, they infused into them the spirit of the new learning. Through the work of such teachers humanism supplanted or greatly modified the older traditional school curriculums.

The outstanding humanist school in Germany in the sixteenth century was developed at Strassburg under the leadership of Johann Sturm. In 1536 he took over the municipal Latin school, reorganized it, and gave it the name *Gymnasium* from the Greek term *gymnasion*. During the forty-five years that Sturm was at the head of this school, he made it the most famous classical school in Europe. It became the standard pattern for the future classical schools of Germany. It also bequeathed its name to the modern classical secondary school so well known in the twentieth century. "He fixed both the type and the name—*Gymnasium*—of the German classical secondary school, which today is not very materially changed from the form and character which Sturm gave it."³ Sturm was in sympathy with the objectives of the Reformation and shared Luther's interest in education. However, Luther was concerned with the Latin and Greek classics mainly for their religious values, whereas Sturm was concerned with the ancient classics primarily for their literary value. As he said:

The end to be accomplished by teaching is threefold; embracing piety, knowledge and the art of speaking. . . . Knowledge and purity and elegance of diction should become the aim of scholarship, and toward its attainment both teachers and pupils should sedulously bend their every effort.⁴

Sturm's *Gymnasium* was organized on the basis of ten classes—one for each year. Each class had a definite curriculum and program to be met which, in turn, was carefully interrelated on a graduated basis of achievement. Each class had a separate teacher, roughly similar in plan to our scheme of graded elementary schools. Boys entered the *Gymnasium* at about the age of six. After the work in this school, they were

³Cubberley, Ellwood P., *The History of Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, p. 274.

⁴Barnard, Henry, *German Teachers and Educators*. Hartford: Brown and Gross, 1878, p. 195.

eligible to enter the university. The curriculum included religion, Greek and Latin grammar and literature, and logic. The plan of the curriculum for the ten classes is given briefly here because of the tremendous influence of this school not only upon German secondary schools but upon schools of other countries as well.

TENTH CLASS: Study of the alphabet; Latin declensions and conjugation; reading and writing simple Latin; the German catechism.

NINTH CLASS: Acquisition of a Latin vocabulary through memorizing word lists; declensions and conjugations of Latin nouns and verbs.

EIGHTH CLASS: Continued vocabulary drill; mastery of the eight parts of speech; reading of selected letters of Cicero with emphasis upon the grammatical construction of the language; exercises in style gradually supplanting vocabulary drill.

SEVENTH CLASS: Study of Latin Syntax from Cicero's letters; exercises in style; translation of the catechism into Latin on Sunday.

SIXTH CLASS: Translation of Cicero's letters into German; begin study of Greek; attention to elegance in Latin style; Saturday and Sunday translation into Latin of catechism and other religious materials.

FIFTH CLASS: Study of Latin poetry, scansion, meter and verse, mythology, Cicero's *Cato* and *Laelius*, and the *Eclogues* of Virgil; completion of encyclopedias of Latin words; Greek continued; continued study of style and beginning versification; extempore translation of passages of great elegance into German and back into Latin; Epistles of Paul translated in this manner on Saturday and Sunday.

FOURTH CLASS: Latin and Greek grammar completed—pupils now able to speak these languages; Cicero's *Oration Against Verres* and Horace studied; Greek continued; practice in style, reviews, and St. Paul's Epistles.

THIRD CLASS: Rhetoric begun, based, in Latin, on Cicero's speech for Cluentis, and on Demosthenes in Greek; reading of the first book of the *Iliad*, and of the *Odyssey*; Greek orations were translated into Greek and back into Latin; the odes of Pindar and Horace were changed into a different

meter; style practices for improvement; Comedies of Plautus acted.

SECOND CLASS: The pupils interpreted Greek poets and orators and Latin authors; logic and rhetoric studied; daily exercises in style, and the writing of short dissertations; plays of Aristophanes, Euripides, or Sophocles, were studied and acted.

FIRST CLASS: Continued study of logic and rhetoric, and their rules applied to Demosthenes and Cicero; study of Virgil and Homer completed; Thucydides and Sallust were translated in writing.

It is clear that in Sturm's *Gymnasium* the emphasis was upon style rather than meaning, as was true in the Latin grammar schools of England. Such a school could have little practical value for the masses. It was a highly restricted school for the privileged, as were similar schools throughout Germany. That it attracted students of this class is evidenced in the claim that at one time this school enrolled two hundred noblemen, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes. Students from all over Europe came to study here. The educational ideas Sturm developed in his *Gymnasium* influenced secondary education throughout Europe and even in America.

France. During the sixteenth century France did not develop a system of secondary education comparable to that found in Germany or England. The Humanist movement that had been so stimulating to the growth of secondary education in Germany and England found it hard to gain a foothold in France. However, in France, surrounded as it was by humanistic influences, there was constant pressure to establish secondary schools on the pattern of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands or of those that had developed throughout Germany. A number of *collèges* such as the *Collège de Guyenne*, modernized in 1534, offered work in Latin grammar and literature not too much unlike that offered in the humanist schools of other sections of northern Europe. The *Collège de Guyenne* contained ten classes in secondary work and an additional two years in philosophy. The last two years overlapped in part the work of the university. The Jesuits established schools in France in the last half of the sixteenth century that

were essentially Latin grammar schools. These secondary schools expanded rapidly and became the leading agencies of secondary education in France for nearly two hundred years. In 1598 France approved new educational statutes which required that students use only Latin speech in the *collèges* (secondary schools). The general course of study for the *collèges* further required the study of Latin and Greek grammar and literature. The curriculum appeared to be similar to the Latin classical school curriculum under humanist influences in other countries. Pupils entered these *collèges* at about nine years and remained for five years. Students well grounded in Greek and Latin could go on to a two-year course in philosophy devoted to a study of "logic, physics, metaphysics and ethics of Aristotle." This plan represents a scheme of secondary education that clearly distinguished between secondary and university education in France.

Netherlands and Switzerland. A consideration of the educational developments in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century would be incomplete without a brief notice of the combined influences of humanism and the Reformation upon the institutions of education in these countries. American colonial life was greatly influenced by the experiences of the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians who had been refugees in Geneva or Leyden, or those who had emigrated to England from Holland and Switzerland.

Switzerland had two great leaders in educational reform, Zwingli of Zurich and Calvin of Geneva. Both began as leaders of the Reformation movement in Switzerland; both were avowed humanists. Zwingli, greatly influenced by Erasmus, combined with his religious reforms a reorganization of the schools of Zurich along humanistic lines. He advocated a plan of education for youths similar to Luther's in Germany. Because of his early death his educational reforms were overshadowed by Calvin, who centered his religious and educational reform activities in Geneva. There he reorganized the Latin schools of the city into a *Gymnasium* resembling that of Strassburg, where he had been a refugee and where he had come in contact with the educational program of the *Gymnasium* under the leadership of Sturm. This new school was a humanist, clas-

sical, Latin preparatory school. It gave a larger place to religious instruction than did the *Gymnasium* of Germany. This school consisted of seven classes under the supervision of the city and supported by tuition fees. The *Gymnasium*, along with the Academy, a higher institution of learning established by Calvin, became famous throughout Europe, enrolling students from all countries. The Academy became the model for the organization of the University of Leyden, Holland; University of Edinburgh, Scotland; Emanuel College, Cambridge University, and is said to have influenced the organization of Harvard University in America. Calvin, whose religious and educational ideas, closely intertwined, greatly influenced educational developments in England and America, became one of the most influential figures of his day.

The influence of the Brethren of the Common Life and Calvinist educational ideas both emphasized the importance of education and its humanistic outlook in the Netherlands Reformation. Three types of schools were developed. The first, the *Common*, or *public*, schools, were schools for the masses in harmony with the spirit of the Reformation and humanist leaders who believed every person should be able to read. The second, the *Classical schools*, or *Gymnasium*, followed the pattern of Sturm's *Gymnasium* of Strassburg except that an enriched curriculum was often offered including French, mathematics, and philosophy. These schools were under the control of the municipalities. The university crowned the educational system. The University of Leyden was recognized as the outstanding one of some fourteen universities of Holland. It became a center of great popularity with the English among the national groups, some two thousand students of English nationality enrolling in the University of Leyden during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Since Holland had proclaimed itself tolerant of all religions, it soon became an asylum for the persecuted of all countries. During the religious struggles in England, many found sanctuary in Holland as well as in Switzerland. Some ten thousand English are estimated to have taken asylum in Holland at the time of the persecutions. It is further estimated that upwards of one hundred thousand people emigrated from the

Netherlands to England and Scotland, many of whom became the early colonists of America. With them they brought educational ideas they had come in contact with in these educational centers of Europe.⁸

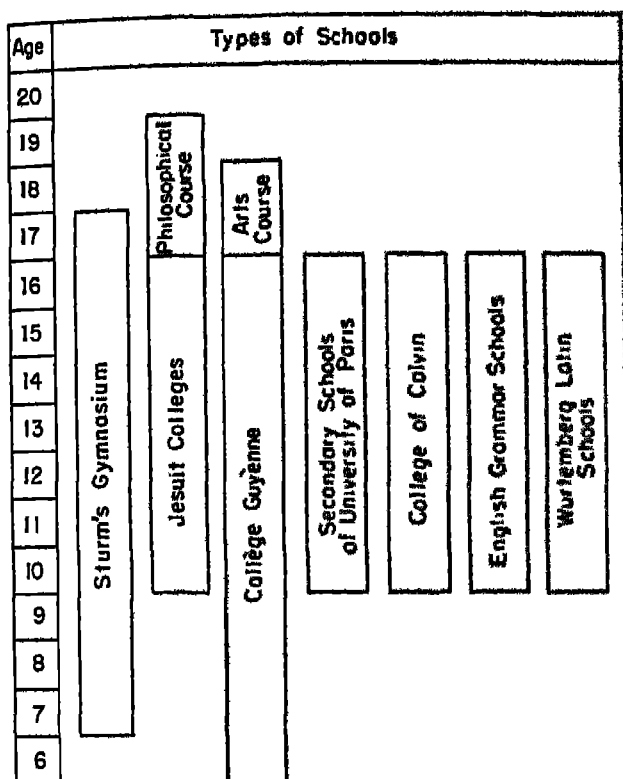


FIGURE IV. PRINCIPAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS DEVELOPED IN EUROPE, 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

What are some of the major European educational developments?

Much attention has been given to the development of secondary education in Europe prior to the beginning of the colonial period in America, because it was out of this milieu of European

⁸Griffis, W. E., *The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic*. Boston: DeWolfe, Fisk & Company, 1891.

educational thought and practice that the patterns of early colonial secondary education were largely derived. The interplay of the educational ideas and organizational schemes of elementary and secondary education between Europe and America is in evidence throughout the subsequent history of the peoples involved.

France. Little change occurred in secondary education in France from the establishment of the *collèges* in the sixteenth century until the Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century. The Jesuit schools dominated French secondary education with their highly classical, Latin, aristocratic form of education until the closing of these schools in 1762 by the French government. Dissatisfaction with the classical type of secondary education offered in French schools finally culminated in 1793 with the suppression of all endowed schools and *collèges* and the confiscation of their property. A decree of 1795 set up central schools (*écoles centrales*) under government control. These schools were to be six years in length and enroll youth at the age of twelve. The curriculum was to consist of drawing, natural history, ancient languages, modern languages by permission, mathematics, physics, chemistry, grammar, *belles lettres*, history, and legislation.

The new central schools created by the Republic of France were as short lived as was the Republic. In 1802 Napoleon devised a national system of education. By the Law of 1802 two types of secondary schools were established—the *lycée* and the communal *collège* which prepared youth for the higher institutions of learning. Of these the *lycée* was the more important, and was under direct government control. It corresponded to the former *collège*. The government provided buildings and some scholarships for its support. The local administration was required to provide furniture and equipment. The main source of support was derived from tuition fees and income from the boarding houses for students. The curriculum was to include ancient languages, provision for modern languages, logic, rhetoric, ethics, *belles lettres*, mathematics, physical science, and drawing. The communal *collège* might be established by municipalities or by individuals. These schools were supported locally, except for some government grants,

and by tuition fees. The curriculum of the communal *collèges* was in general the same as that of the *lycée* but less complete. In 1806 a law was passed providing for a national system of school administration; and in 1808, by Imperial Decree, Napoleon created the University of France with complete jurisdiction over all education, primary, secondary and higher. The University of France was not a university as we think of it but was a governing body similar to our state departments of education. The *lycées* and *collèges* were restricted to the upper classes and were college preparatory, as is evidenced by the tuition charges and their curriculum offerings. The curriculum of the *lycées*, prescribed in 1809 and applied to the *collèges* in 1812, designated "those studies that are needed to prepare students to enter the faculties." For the first five years Latin, Greek, French, history, mythology, geography, mathematics were studied; in the sixth year logic, metaphysics, ethics, optics, and astronomy, or mathematics, natural history, physics, and chemistry were given. In 1814 a seventh year devoted mainly to philosophy was added.

The *lycées* and *collèges* were aristocratic schools designed to prepare upper-class youths or an occasional brilliant youth of humble rank for the university. There was a growing demand for a liberalization of educational opportunity for the masses. This found expression in the Law of 1833 which created a higher primary school to be added to the regular elementary school for the masses. The curriculum was more adapted to meet the needs of the occupational groups. This school was frequently housed in one of the communal *collèges*, but, like commercial and vocational curriculums in the earlier high schools of America, it was not generally popular. Sporadic efforts to create a satisfactory secondary school for the masses continued ineffectual before the first world war. In 1880 *collèges* and *lycées* for girls were established, but they did not lead to admission to the university. However, they did provide advanced educational opportunity for girls at the secondary level in the state school system. In 1902 the secondary school was divided into classical and modern courses leading to the same degree. The student had the opportunity to select a classical or scientific course. The length of the secondary course

was seven years. This was a move in the direction of popular demands but was still unsatisfactory as a democratic plan of education.

French secondary education as it had developed before 1918 maintained its classical tradition. The *lycées* and *collèges* had changed little from the classical mold of the mid-sixteenth-century *collège*, although they were forced in later years to make some concessions to changing conditions. A well organized, highly articulated, and strictly supervised state system of secondary education for the upper-class population had developed. Although France had created a school system for the masses, embracing elementary and secondary opportunities for boys and girls, French education was mainly focused on its classical secondary schools for the social and intellectual élite, which led to the university and its professional schools. Heavy tuition and the classical curriculum made it possible to reserve the *lycées*, particularly, for the upper classes.

Slowly education in France at the secondary level was provided for girls. Since in general practice boys and girls in France were not educated together, separate *lycées* and *collèges* were provided for upper-class girls approximately comparable to those for the boys, but no degree that would permit girls from these schools to enter the university was allowed. In 1919 an enrollment of 45,000 girls in 84 *lycées* and 84 *collèges* was reported. Approximately 5,000 more girls were enrolled in other state institutions of secondary rank. Against this was an enrollment in all secondary schools of only about a quarter of a million boys out of a total of two and one-half million between the ages of thirteen and sixteen.

The awakening democratic spirit evidenced at the turn of the century continued to grow and become more intense in France as it did in England during and immediately following the first world war. Definite agitation continued for the establishment of an *école unique*, which had for its purpose the unification of all education into one national system with equal privilege to all worthy youths to secure an education irrespective of wealth or position. The elementary school was visualized as the common denominator of admission to the *lycée* or *collège* and from them to the universities or technical schools.

After 1925 a common scholarship examination for candidates to the secondary, the higher primary, and the technical schools enabled the holder of a scholarship to use it in any of these schools or shift from one to the other after an initial tryout period. Since 1929 all tuition fees in the *collèges* have been abolished, which has opened further the door of secondary school opportunity for the aspiring but poor youth. No further significant change in French secondary education took place before the holocaust of the second world war.

Germany. Although the *Gymnasium*, as developed under the leadership of Johann Sturm during the second half of the sixteenth century, remained the principal form of secondary education in Germany until the nineteenth century, it was not the only source of secondary education for German youth. The social, political, and religious unrest of these years had a profound influence upon educational development which could not but touch all phases of the educational life of Germany. Even the *Gymnasium*, jealously guarded as it was by the upper classes, did not entirely escape. As might be expected, there was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the restricted nature of the classical *Gymnasium*. Interest in science and politics and the tremendous influence of French court life upon the nobility of Germany had led to the establishment of secondary schools of a more practical type. Schools known as *Ritterakademien*, knightly or courtly academies, sprang up throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These schools catered to the nobility and offered a broader and more practical curriculum for these future rulers or boys destined for positions of public service. In these schools ancient languages were either eliminated or drastically de-emphasized. More attention was given to modern languages, science, mathematics, surveying, architecture, military techniques, history, geography, manners and customs of court life, music, dancing, and physical training. Students began to imitate the manners of the nobles, and assumed the conventional dress of the gentleman rather than the garb of the scholar. Swords were carried and dueling became the fashion in these schools.

About this time, in 1695, Francke, a member of the faculty of the University of Halle, began two schools; one for nobles,

which stressed science rather than ancient languages, called a *Pädagogium*, and the second, a Latin school, known as a *Gymnasium*, later approved as such by the government. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium* included the traditional subjects of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew with the emphasis upon their use in the interpretation of the Scriptures. To this was added history, geography, music, painting, physics, botany, astronomy, and mathematics. The *Pädagogium* offered the courses taught in the Latin school with the additional subjects of French, astronomy, and mineralogy. Provision was also made for a botanical garden, a natural history museum, laboratories for chemistry, physics, and anatomy, equipment for courses in mechanics, glass blowing, copper engraving, and woodcutting.

The work of Francke had a very stimulating effect upon the thinking of educational leaders in the eighteenth century both in Germany and America. Many students trained under Francke emigrated to America where they set up schools in Pennsylvania and Georgia similar to those conducted by Francke in Halle. Illustrative of the character of these leaders were Count Zinzendorf, leader of the Moravians, who had been a student in the *Pädagogium* at Halle and lived in Francke's home; Bishop Spangenberg, another Moravian leader, who had been a colleague of Francke's in the University of Halle and an inspector of the Latin School in Francke's orphanages; and Muhlenberg, who had been associated with Francke at Halle and was a leader of the Lutherans around Philadelphia about 1750. These men, and scores of others who had been influenced by Francke's educational activities, vitally influenced education in America where they labored.

In 1747 Julius Hecker, who had been a teacher in Francke's *Pädagogium*, set up a new school in Berlin which reflected the practical ideas of Francke and others who were advocating an education better fitted for those who were not interested in the scholarly professions but were destined to be leaders in politics, business, and the practical applications of science and mathematics to the affairs of living. This he called the Economic-Mathematical Real School. This was the first German *Real-schule*. It offered courses in religion, ethics, German, French, Latin, history, drawing, mechanics, geography, architecture,

agriculture, mining, manufacturing, bookkeeping, and physiology. This curriculum was strikingly similar to that offered in the *Pädagogium* of Francke. Later this school became the "*Royal Realschule*" of Berlin.

These schools were symptomatic of a struggle that grew in intensity and has characterized German secondary educational development throughout its history. Continued growth in technology, trades, business, and governmental activities—the natural concomitant of the rapid expansion and increasing diversification of the interests of an industrial society—not only opened up, but also required various degrees of, technical and specialized training of a secondary school nature which the *Gymnasium* did not provide. Unlike our comprehensive American secondary schools, which generally try to provide for a variety of educational needs within one school by differentiated curriculums, the German plan has been to create a new school to meet a new need. The conflicts that have arisen in the effort either to modify existing schools or to create new ones have resulted in a confused array of new and revised secondary schools.

Certain of these schools became dominant types of secondary institutions and represent the major direction of development in Germany from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1918. First and foremost in this group have stood the *Gymnasium* and *Progymnasium*. The lineal descendant of the Latin school, the *Gymnasium* had consistently maintained its classical program and continued to be the school of the élite. It was the favored preparatory school for the universities. In 1788 a Leaving Examination was provided to be given in each secondary school qualified to prepare students for the university. The successful candidates in these examinations were granted certificates of admission to the universities without the necessity of taking the university entrance examinations. The position of the *Gymnasium* was strengthened by this regulation. Because of opposition this regulation was not effective until 1812 when it was reinstated and strictly enforced. In 1834 the university examinations were completely abolished and the Leaving Examinations were made the sole basis of entrance to the universities. All standard nine-year classical schools were clas-

sified as *Gymnasium*. A virtual monopoly of the preparation of candidates for the universities, therefore, was given to the *Gymnasium*. To add to the attractiveness of this school the graduates were privileged to reduce the two-year military requirement to one year; likewise graduates of the *Gymnasium* were eligible to the preferred civil positions in the government. Those secondary schools which could not qualify as *Gymnasium* were permitted either to offer the first six years of the standard program and be known as *Progymnasium*, or to shift from ancient to modern languages and become middle class schools—*Burgerschulen* or *Realschulen*.

A standard curriculum for the *Gymnasium* and the *Progymnasium* was proposed in 1816. The studies consisted of Latin, Greek, German, mathematics, history, geography, religion, and science, the emphasis upon the different subjects in descending order as listed, with major attention given to Latin and least to science. Hebrew, French, and other languages were made optional. There was a definite tendency to emphasize the classical nature of these schools at the expense of science or more modern subjects. In 1837 the school program was specifically reduced from ten to a standard nine years. Latin was further stressed in the curriculum, being assigned 86 hours out of a total of 280 hours for the entire nine-year program. Greek, Latin, and mathematics took up 161 hours, or much over half of the total school time of the *Gymnasium*. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium* and *Progymnasium* was further restricted in 1859 with more emphasis upon Latin. These schools remained highly classical. The Reform of 1892 liberalized the *Gymnasium* somewhat by a reduction of the time spent on Latin and Greek and the promotion of German to a central position, with more time devoted to recent history and religion. The Reform of 1901 made little change in the *Gymnasium* except to strengthen the place of Latin in the curriculum and to emphasize the classical nature of the school.

The *Gymnasium* and *Progymnasium* were tuition schools. The average German youths could not pay tuition to these schools. The classical nature of the curriculum did not make these schools attractive to those who had to depend upon a practical kind of education as a means to livelihood. The

tradition of this *Gymnasium* from the days of its development by Sturm had been that of a class school for those privileged by birth into a social class or through economic advantage. Like the *lycée* of France, the *Gymnasium* of Germany maintained its dominant and aristocratic position unbroken for nearly four hundred years.

The efforts of Francke, Hecker, and others to develop a school of less classical curriculum than that of the *Gymnasium* found further expression in 1859. At that time the Prussian Minister, Von Bethmann Hollweg, gave official recognition of the value of the *Realschule* in German education. These schools were placed under the supervision of the same authority responsible for the *Gymnasium*. There were two types of schools: the *Realschulen erster Ordnung*, a nine-year school offering courses in religion, German, Latin, French, English, history, geography, mathematics, and science and privileged to give the Leaving Examination; and the *Realschulen zweiter Ordnung*, a six-year school without Latin. Successful passing of the Leaving Examination in the *Realschulen erster Ordnung* carried the privilege of entering some of the lesser civil positions and the right to one year rather than two of military training. These were not vocational schools, but were more practical general culture schools as were the schools of Francke and Hecker before them. The major difference between the *Realschule erster Ordnung* and the *Gymnasium* lay in the substitution of English for Greek, which was so highly valued in the *Gymnasium*, and in the greater emphasis upon science. The right to have its graduates enter the university came in 1870, when students who passed the Leaving Examinations were permitted to enter the universities to study mathematics, foreign language, and science as preparation for teaching. In 1882 the name *Realschule erster Ordnung* was changed to *Realgymnasium*, and its curriculum was brought close to that of the *Gymnasium* by more emphasis upon Latin in the former, and by more time given to mathematics, science, history, geography, and French in the latter. Because the *Realgymnasium* had become very similar to the *Gymnasium*, except that it did not emphasize Latin nor offer Greek and emphasized ancient languages instead of science, it drew fire from extreme radicals and con-

servatives. The conservatives looked upon it as a threat of an inferior school to the supremacy of the *Gymnasium* and the radicals considered it another *Gymnasium* and, therefore, a useless luxury. They wanted it abolished. The conference called by the Kaiser in 1890 recommended that the *Realgymnasium* be abolished. The regulations of 1892 retained it. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium*, mainly by reduced emphasis upon Greek and Latin, lessened the difference between these two schools. The decree of 1900 declared all schools to be of the same value for general culture. Students of all schools were to be admitted to the university under certain conditions. The Reform of 1901 provided that the essential difference between the *Gymnasium* and the *Realgymnasium* was to be found in the emphasis upon Greek and Latin in the first school, whereas in the second the emphasis was to be upon Latin and modern foreign languages.

Many German educators had sought to facilitate easy transfer between the three nine-year secondary schools. As early as 1878 a type of school founded on what was known as the Altona plan had been set up with a common foundation for entrance to both the *Realgymnasium* and the *Realschule*. A similar type of foundation school under the Frankfurt plan was begun in 1890 to qualify candidates for all three major secondary schools. These schools (*Reformschule*), although the Conference of 1892 had refused to give them official sanction, grew in popularity.

The *Realprogymnasium* was officially recognized in the regulations of the Reform of 1892. It was a six-year school offering the first six years' work of the *Realgymnasium*. At the close of the six years' program, students could transfer to the *Realgymnasium* for the last three years' work. Exemption from one year of military training was now granted to those of the *Realprogymnasium* who successfully completed the Leaving Examinations. The six-year *Realprogymnasium* held exactly the same relationship to the nine-year *Realgymnasium* as the six-year *Progymnasium* did to the nine-year *Gymnasium*.

The *Realschule zweiter Ordnung* grew in popularity after the Franco-Prussian War. Some of these schools lengthened their courses to nine years, and in 1878 the government recog-

nized them. Graduates of the nine-year schools were admitted to the technical schools. To both the six- and nine-year schools the privilege of the one-year military service was granted. The nine-year school came to be known as the *Oberrealschule* and the title of the six-year school was shortened to *Realschule*. The graduates of this school could enter the *Oberrealschule* to complete the three advance years of that school. The *Oberrealschule* was again recognized in the regulations of 1892 as one of the three types of nine-year schools and it shared with the other nine-year schools the common basis of courses in German, history, and religion and the admission of its students to some phases of university study. In 1900 a decree declared all schools of equal cultural value and in 1901 granted to the *Oberrealschule* equal rights with the other schools for admission of its students to the universities without examinations, except to the faculty of theology which was reserved as the privilege of the *Gymnasium* only.

At the time of the establishment of the new German Republic in 1919, Germany had established three pairs of secondary schools under full state control: (1) The highly classical, aristocratic nine-year *Gymnasium* that had lasted for nearly four centuries with relatively little change in its basic nature and purpose, and a shorter six-year *Progymnasium* offering the first six years' work of the *Gymnasium*; (2) The *Realgymnasium*, very similar to the *Gymnasium* in its nine-year curriculum except that it emphasized Latin and modern languages rather than Latin and Greek, and its counterpart, the six-year *Realprogymnasium*, an exact duplicate of the first six years of the *Realgymnasium*; (3) The *Oberrealschule*, a nine-year school with emphasis upon modern languages, mathematics, and science, and a six-year *Realschule*, approximately a duplication of the first six years of the *Oberrealschule*. A study of the programs of these schools reveals how much secondary education in Germany remained wedded to the old classical tradition. The struggle for a democratic program of secondary education for the masses had yet to be won.

These six schools were for boys only; girls had still to win recognition in the main stream of secondary education in Germany. However, they were not unprovided for in educational

opportunity beyond the elementary school. Interest in advanced education for girls took form in the educational work of Francke and his disciples, Semler and Hecker. Francke organized among his schools at Halle a *Gynaeceum* for the daughters of the nobles which became the inspiration for similar schools over Germany. Most efforts to establish schools for girls were private before the twentieth century. Municipal authorities here and there made sporadic attempts to provide educational opportunities for girls. It is estimated that more than fifty public secondary *Höhere Töchterschulen* schools for girls under municipal auspices were in existence by 1840 and had increased by 1860 to over one hundred. These schools taught religion, German, French, handiwork, and some science. In 1872 Prussia provided a ten-year school for girls beginning at the age of six. This program was so adjusted and extended in 1894 that the work offered the girls became essentially equivalent to that provided for boys.

It was not until 1908 that definite provision was made for the establishment of a secondary school for girls. At this time a school known as the *Lyzeum* was created, with a ten-year course in which pupils enrolled for an elementary course of three years followed by a seven-year course in secondary education. The program consisted of German, French, English, religion, history, geography, science, mathematics, drawing, music, and handwork. This school was followed by two advanced schools; one, the *Frauenschule*, was a two-year course in practical arts and the continuation of general subjects; the other, *Höhere Lehrerinnenseminar*, was a four-year school for the preparation of elementary school teachers. A second plan of secondary education for girls who wished to qualify for the Leaving Examinations was called the *Studienanstalt*. This consisted of three schools paralleling those for boys; namely, *Oberrealschulen*, *Realgymnasium*, and *Gymnasium*. The organization of these schools had one important organizational difference from that of the boys: the *Lyzeum* became the common core of preparation for all girls. At the end of the seventh year of the *Lyzeum*, at the age of thirteen, the girl who wished to follow the six-year program of the *Gymnasium* or *Realgymnasium* transferred to the *Studienanstalt* and began

the study of Latin. The girls who wished to follow the scientific course of the *Oberrealschulen* transferred to that division of the *Studienanstalt*, at the age of fourteen, following the eighth year of the *Lyzeum*. These schools were tuition schools which limited their usefulness to the upper classes who could afford the financial outlay involved. These schools had an advantage over those of the boys because they were organized into a unified system, while the boys were in distinctly separate schools.

The first world war had its repercussions in German education. Impetus was given to the growing insistence upon some greater educational opportunity for the masses. The Constitution of the new Republic (1919) provided for a democratic compulsory system of elementary education through eight years of the *Volkschule* and further work in some kind of a continuation school (*Fortbildungsschule*) through the age of eighteen. The foundation school law of 1920, in harmony with the Constitutional provisions, abolished the *Vorschule*, which had been the preparatory school of the privileged classes, and made the first four years of the eight-year *Volkschule* the foundation school for all children. This first four-year section was called the *Gründschule*. After completion of the four years of the *Gründschule*, the pupils could advance in any one of three directions: they might continue with the next four years of the elementary school (*Oberstufe*), enter a *Mittelschule*, which gave a combination general and pre-vocational education, or enter a secondary school. Later, provision was made for bright children to transfer to secondary schools at the end of the third year of the *Gründschule*.

To the six recognized types of secondary schools the nine-year *Deutsche Oberschule*, which was entered from the four-year *Gründschule*, was added. In an effort to make secondary education more German, this school emphasized German life and culture. Modern languages were offered though not stressed. Another school was established in an effort to make it possible for gifted children who had completed the seventh year of the *Volkschule* to transfer to a six-year course that would prepare for the universities and other types of advance schools. Both of these new schools were eligible for the Leaving Exami-

nation which granted admission to the university or other higher institutions of learning. At this time the *Reformrealgymnasium* was recognized; it stressed a modern foreign language and postponed Latin until the sixth year.

With the advent of the Nazis, the National Socialist government underwent a profound change both in its emphasis and in its organization. The abnormalities of the chauvinistic, distorted racial and historical emphasis of this ill-fated period are not of major concern in this brief discussion of the organization of German education. There is much in the events of this period that should prove of value to the student of education. It is doubtful if any group in any period of human history ever made as vital use of the educational process as did the Nazis, though for an unworthy purpose. In many respects they demonstrated in an unusual way the power of education to revolutionize the thinking of people (youths particularly) when it is used by those who understand its power and know just what goals they wish to achieve.

The drastic reorganization of the almost hopelessly diversified array of secondary schools inherited by the National Socialist government had much to commend it. In 1937 the *Reichsminister* issued a decree which (1) reduced the number of secondary schools to three major types; (2) made English the important foreign language of the schools; and (3) reduced the time for preparation for the Leaving Examinations from thirteen to twelve years. The new schools created by the Republic, which emphasized German culture, were the *Deutsche Oberschule*, now made the principal secondary school, the *Aufbauschule*, and the *Gymnasium*. But the glory that was for centuries centered in the *Gymnasium* was now removed; it was reduced to the least consequential of the schools. Henceforth it was to be limited in numbers and restricted to the cities. The *Oberschule* was made the standard secondary school of eight years; all other schools were to be patterned after it. The *Aufbauschule* was retained as a six-year school to follow a six-year elementary program. It was to be restricted to rural districts and made largely a boarding school to give rural children an opportunity to prepare for the university.

A decree issued by the *Reichsminister* early in 1938 out-

lined the pattern of the curriculum of the new secondary schools. It was noticeable that the curriculum was extremely rigid with few electives and time allotments for subjects quite uniform throughout the eight years. Boys were free to elect one of two programs, either natural science-mathematics or languages. His election would be in terms of quantitative amount of time placed on the subjects, however, for he would take the same subjects but might vary as much as a maximum of 45 hours on the emphasis given these different subjects. The range of subjects offered was limited for most of them were taught throughout the eight years. Physical education was strongly emphasized. German nationalism accounted for 37 per cent of the total school time. Religion was given a minor place in the time allotment of the school. The *Gymnasium* was still permitted to offer Greek and Latin but in many respects its curriculum reflected that of the now major secondary school of the Nazis.

The schools for girls, which had paralleled closely the schools for boys, were more drastically limited. Only two types of schools for girls were allowed—the *Oberschule* and the *Aufbauschule*. The *Oberschule* permitted a choice in the last three years of language emphasis or home economics. Physical education was emphasized, as for the boys. Only English was offered as a foreign language and was required. German subjects and those particularly appropriate to women, as Home Economics, Handwork, Home and Family Services, were stressed. Little difference existed between the two schools or in the emphasis permitted.

The democratic emphasis that had gained momentum over the years appeared to have been lost in the Nazis' régime. There appeared to be less interest in making education at the secondary and higher levels easily available to all. It was made more difficult to move from the elementary to the secondary school and from there to the universities or higher schools. Coeducation was frowned upon. Girls were virtually eliminated from the universities because they were admitted to the *Gymnasium* only on consent of the *Reichsminister*. Latin, required by the universities for admission, was almost eliminated from the girls' secondary schools.

The second world war came just as the Nazis were putting into effect these drastic reorganization plans for German youth education. It is interesting to see the contrast in the programs of secondary education as developed prior to 1933 and the changes proposed and in partial effect at the beginning of 1939 when World War II struck. It will be interesting to see what form secondary education takes in the years immediately ahead as Germany passes through the long period of rehabilitation.

England. Throughout most of the seventeenth century secondary education in England followed the pattern set by the Latin grammar schools of the preceding century. Altogether it is estimated that more than 550 grammar schools were founded or refounded in England between the re-establishment of St. Paul's School, London in 1510, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. These schools were closely modeled after St. Paul's School with its emphasis both on humanism and religion. After the Established Church came into power in England these schools became more narrowly uniform in their emphasis upon religious instruction. The efforts of the Established Church to prescribe the doctrinal teaching of the schools and to safeguard these schools from the influence of large groups of religious Nonconformists who had come in contact with the ideas of reformation leaders of the Continent, such as Calvin, Zwingli, Luther, or who had felt the stimulus of such intellectual centers as Geneva or Leyden, led to more and more repressive measures to insure the orthodoxy of the teachers in the grammar schools. This struggle for complete domination of the religious character of these grammar schools led to the notorious Act of Uniformity of 1662. This law required affirmation of loyalty to the liturgy of the Established Church on the part of every schoolmaster. Three years later another law forbade Dissenters to teach under penalty of a fine of forty pounds. Even children of Dissenters or Nonconformists no longer were permitted to attend grammar schools. If it is remembered that it was from these nonconforming religious groups that most early New England colonists came, the student can understand and appreciate the educational characteristics of our early colonial Latin grammar schools. This drastic legislation resulted in the establishment

of hundreds of secondary schools for the children of Nonconformists. These schools were influenced by the ideas of John Milton, himself a Nonconformist, who had advocated a more practical type of secondary education. Milton had given expression to his ideas in the creation of a school he called an Academy. Thus academies, clandestinely taught, sprang up all over England under the leadership of Nonconformist clergy. These academies and their emphasis upon a more practical type of education gave impetus to the academy movement in America.

No major changes took place in secondary education for the next century and a half. After 1850 a slow awakening of a democratic consciousness began to be felt in England and gained tremendous impetus toward the turn of the century. This had its repercussions in governmental attitudes toward education for the masses. Gradually the reluctance of the government to assume responsibility for secondary education gave way. In 1862 the Department of Science and Art, created in 1852, began the establishment of secondary schools under government subsidy with special emphasis upon the sciences as they had practical applications to industry. By 1872 almost a thousand of these schools had been established. This type of school was further encouraged by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 which gave County and Town Councils authority to levy taxes for the support of this form of education. As a result of this stimulus, by 1910-11 there were in existence 36 Technical Institutions, 110 Day Technical Schools, 218 Art Schools, and 7,422 Evening Schools. The Endowed Schools Acts of 1869 and 1874 represented a further evidence of state concern for secondary education. These laws set up a Commission with responsibility for the better management and improvement of instruction of the endowed grammar schools. The Acts of 1888 and 1889 created county and borough councils and a central Board of Education to unify the administration of state-aided elementary and secondary education under governmental auspices. The Education Act of 1902 was an important landmark in the development of a national system of education; it unified control of both elementary and secondary education. By this Act the counties and county boroughs were made responsible

for the provision of adequate facilities for secondary education in their areas, as well as the proper coordination of all educational activities within their authority "after consultation with the Board of Education." Private or endowed secondary schools, at their discretion, were privileged to accept governmental aid but only on the condition that they submit to governmental inspection and conform to governmental school plans. Otherwise no effort was made to change the character of the work done in the private or endowed schools.

With the beginning of the first world war four and possibly five categories of recognized secondary schools were flourishing in England.⁶ It should be kept clearly in mind that this classification is based upon the accepted connotation of "secondary education" in England which is restricted to those schools whose curriculum is essentially academic. This classification does not include those schools which serve the adolescent period with a practical type of education. The trade schools and central schools, for example, which came to hold such an important place in the service of youth, were not considered a legitimate part of secondary education.

(1) "PUBLIC" SCHOOLS: When one speaks of secondary education in England the famous "public" schools immediately flash into mind: Eton, Rugby, or Harrow are most likely brought to mind. These are part of some one hundred and fifty endowed schools after the pattern of the three famous schools mentioned which are recognized for membership eligibility in the Headmasters Conference. Certain standards of eligibility are maintained for this group; such as, minimum enrollment, independence of the headmaster and governing body, satisfactory showing on the school-certificate examination, and the encouragement of a goodly number to attend Oxford or Cambridge Universities. These schools are generally boarding schools with day pupils, charging relatively high tuition rates ranging upwards of fifteen hundred dollars or more. They are

⁶I. L. Kandel classifies these secondary schools as follows: (1) Public schools; (2) Day schools; (3) Council schools; and (4) Private schools. See his *History of Secondary Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. 337 ff; and *Comparative Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, pp. 642 ff.

private schools, highly selective in character and regarded as snobbish schools of the upper classes.

Until recent times the curriculum was classical after the best ancient traditions. The "public" schools, although still giving emphasis to the classics, have been forced by the changing world, the inevitable influence of which they cannot escape, to modernize their curriculum in the direction of modern languages and the subjects more appropriate to the contemporary economic world in which their graduates are supposed to become leaders. Contrary to popular notions, academic scholarship is not the thing for which these "public" schools are particularly famous. The "playing fields of Eton" is a familiar term which suggests the amount of attention given to athletics and sports as well as to other social activities. The purpose of these schools is not primarily scholarly but to make their graduates gentlemen in the best sense of the word, healthy, able to work together and maintain correct social standards, and trained as leaders. The frequently quoted quip concerning these "public" schools may serve to throw some light on their earlier character: "They are called *English* because they teach Latin and Greek; *Public* because they are private; and *Schools* because no small part of the time is allotted to athletics." The boys enter schools specially designed to qualify them for admission to the "public" schools. Upon graduation from the public schools they enter Oxford or Cambridge Universities, the army, or prominent government posts. A few such schools are now organized for girls.⁷

(2) GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS: In their early origins the grammar schools were scarcely distinguishable from the "public" schools. It was out of the early grammar school era that certain schools, because of heavy endowments, private character, their tendency to become boarding schools for

⁷The institutions that have given the "public" schools their name and character are the so-called nine great public schools, all but one dating back before the seventeenth century and two over five hundred years old. These and the dates of their founding are: Winchester, 1384; Eton, 1440; St. Paul's, 1550; Shrewsbury, 1552; Westminster, 1560; Merchant Taylors, 1561; Rugby, 1567; Harrow, 1571; and Charterhouse, 1612. The student who wishes to delve further into the history of these schools should read Mack, Edward C., *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939; and *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.

students from all England, their aristocratic, selective nature, and so forth, evolved into a distinctive type of school later to be known as "public" schools. Hundreds of other grammar schools, some with equally high scholarship, were local in character, predominantly or exclusively day schools, and catering to a less select social class. These schools have made up the bulk of the grammar schools of England. Along with these schools have sprung up, in recent decades, high schools also serving local communities and locally supported. Their curriculums tend to be more sensitive to changing conditions and local educational demands. These schools are influenced greatly by the "public" schools, which they try to imitate as far as possible. The older better grammar schools, particularly, send their graduates to Cambridge and Oxford or to the newer universities. Since most of these schools have a more democratic clientele, many students are under economic pressure to drop out of school before eighteen or nineteen. Although a small fee was usually charged, those schools receiving local aid were required to accept a certain number of their students free directly from the public elementary schools of the community. Larger numbers of the high schools particularly were established for girls, with equal educational standards and offerings.

(3) COUNCIL SECONDARY SCHOOLS: The Education Act of 1902 placed the responsibility directly upon counties and county boroughs for the provision of adequate opportunity for secondary education in their areas. These schools were the first true expression of a democratic school program for youths in England. These schools following the English tradition could be set up for either boys or girls or could be coeducational. Merged into these new creations of the councils were older traditional private schools which chose to accept governmental aid, and thus become subject to the supervision of the local educational authorities.

These schools are not wholly free since some tuition fees are charged. These schools enroll most of their students from the elementary school for a four-year period. A more practical type of education is offered, and the pupils who graduate from these schools who aspire to go on to the universities usually go to one of the more modern universities.

(4) **PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS:** These schools are made up of a large number of schools of various types which do not receive governmental aids of any kind. Many of these are schools of superior quality and many of dubious value. As private schools they are largely free of governmental restrictions. They have a strong organization known as the Independent Schools Association to look after their interests and provide them leadership, just as is true of our many organizations in America to serve types of private secondary schools.

(5) **GIRLS' SECONDARY SCHOOLS:** Even a hasty study of the schools of England at this period will indicate that education here, as elsewhere on the continent prior to the twentieth century, was predominantly for boys. Private secondary schools for girls began to increase in number by 1900, although a half century or more of agitation had preceded the Education Act of 1902, which finally made possible the equality of education of girls in publicly controlled schools. We have seen that the council schools could be coeducational. Some grammar and high schools, even "public" schools, had previously been set up for girls. Coeducation has had a difficult time overcoming the prejudices of the conservative social thinking of the English. As late as 1930, of the 1,341 secondary schools on the Board of Education's grant list of England and Wales, considerably less than a third, or 374 of these schools, were coeducational; whereas the remainder, nearly a thousand schools, were divided almost equally between separate boys' and girls' secondary schools. The quality of education offered the girls is now on a par with that of the boys. An attempt was made to differentiate the education for girls from that of boys to provide more practical domestic courses. As might be expected, there was a natural hesitancy at first to make too many changes from the type of education offered boys. It is interesting to note in passing that England was more than a hundred years behind America in recognizing the right of girls to secondary education and in their acceptance of coeducation.

The advance ground taken in the Education Act of 1902 was slowly being consolidated when the holocaust of war that swept over Europe beginning in late 1914 rudely jarred the social thinking of the world. Particularly were those ideas of human

rights, equality, and justice that long had agitated the peoples of Europe brought to the fore during and after the war. England became more conscious than ever of the limitations of her educational program. A popular demand arose for a more democratic and more extensive scheme of education. The answer came in the passage of the Fisher, or Education, Act of 1918 shortly before the close of the war. The purpose of this Act was stated as: "adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting, through inability to pay fees." The Act represented an effort to make education universal and to provide an organized system of education from the elementary school through the university under government direction. The Fisher Act was, in a sense, superimposed upon the broad framework of the Act of 1902, with the Board of Education and the county and county borough councils at the heart of the plan with greatly magnified powers. A nearly uniform tax rate was set up for each community. After this levy had been made, the state stepped in to provide a pro-rated share of the total cost of the local area for elementary and secondary education. Although secondary education under the Act was not necessarily free to everyone, governmental support of the secondary school required a large proportion of free tuitions which it was assumed would care for all those worthy and desirous of a secondary education. Unfortunately the Fisher Act was not carried out in full. Not all those counted upon to support this advanced educational vision at the time of the passage of the bill were ready to make the necessary sacrifices when the time came. Until the second world war it remained something of a dream—an aspiration toward which to move.

As had happened in the years immediately following 1914, the second world war aroused the democratic dreams of the English people. A growing insistence on the equality of the British of low estate with those of acknowledged privilege developed as the long war brought rich and poor to share alike at home and at the front. Through the war the masses had dramatized the fact that education rather than social position was the key to unlock the traditional door of opportunity. They

began to demand equality of educational opportunity as a democratic right and a patriotic obligation. Almost overnight education came to occupy a critically important place in the national well-being. Churchill saw this clearly in 1943 when he said: "The future, in peace and in war, is to the highly educated races." Under the pressures of such sentiments, the English government was persuaded to take advanced ground over that of the 1918 Fisher Act while the stress of war was still upon the nation.

The Education Act of 1944 is indeed a landmark in aspiration and vision. By this Act free education for all children and youth between the ages of 2-18 who attend public nursery, elementary, and secondary schools, and even beyond the secondary, was provided. Every local education authority was made responsible to see that these schools were: "Sufficient in number, character, and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their ages, abilities, and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain in school." Responsibility was placed upon the parents to see that their children received an education of a standard acceptable to the state. The law also required local school authorities to see that adequate facilities were available for boys and girls up to the age of eighteen beyond the secondary school; such as, "colleges for the part-time education of all boys and girls up to the age of eighteen who are not in full-time attendance at school," and "Full-time and part-time education in technical, commercial, and art subjects for persons over compulsory school age." It was made compulsory upon youth under the age of eighteen who were not full-time pupils to attend these part-time schools. They were required to report to the education authority regularly. Free medical inspection was provided to all the children of tax-supported schools up to the age of eighteen.

The county and county borough councils, with some exceptions, were made the local authorities with responsibility for the entire system of education within their jurisdiction. With provision for the combining of some of the smaller councils, it has been estimated the local authorities would be reduced from

over 315 to 125 approximately. The Board of Education was re-organized into two Central Advisory Councils and made truly functioning organizations for England and Wales with the president, in fact, the Minister for Education. Private schools are now brought under his jurisdiction and supervision. They must now maintain efficient educational programs or face the threat of being closed. It was estimated that to carry through this ambitious educational program would cost double the 1939 expenditures for education.

Time alone will tell whether England has taken advanced educational ground largely on paper under the patriotic stimulus of war, as in 1918, or whether this marks the beginning of a truly organized democratic system of education for this historically *laissez-faire* nation in matters of education.

Russia. Since 1917 Russia has been undergoing a profound social and educational revolution. When the second world war brought Russia to a position of such strategic importance in world affairs, it became doubly important that the educational worker understand the Soviet scheme of education and its relation to their unique social experiment. From the very beginning the Communists have stressed the importance of education as an instrument of effecting social change. In October, 1917 the Soviet leaders announced their educational policy to be (1) the complete liquidation of illiteracy, (2) secular, free, universal, compulsory education, (3) equal educational opportunity for all, (4) well trained, competent teachers, and (5) adequate financial support for education.

It is a tribute to the alertness of the new Russian leadership that they saw the crucial nature of education as a basis of social change. The story of Russian education from 1917 to 1940 reads like a modern epic. It is the story of an almost fantastic and unparalleled achievement of an educational goal—the removal of national illiteracy in one generation. It is claimed that the 27 per cent of literacy in 1920 had reached nearly 100, or complete literacy of the Russian people, by 1940. Most of the goals set up in the pronouncement of 1917 were well on the way to realization by 1940. Unfortunately the goal of free education had been achieved, but underwent a change in 1940. At that time it was decreed that secondary and higher education

would no longer be free except for students of superior ability. The reason advanced for this change of policy was that many students and parents were unappreciative of educational privileges provided free.

Although our interests are primarily with secondary education in this discussion, the entire pattern of education should be seen in which secondary education may be given its proper perspective. Education in Russia prior to the second world war began with the *crèches* and special Mother and Child Homes where children could be placed up to age three. The *crèches* are maintained for mothers who work and cannot otherwise provide for their children while they are away from home in the factory or shop. The Mother and Child Homes are for orphans who are under the care of the government.

Nursery and kindergarten schools are for children between the ages of three and eight. The nurseries care for the child the entire time the parents are working and the kindergartens are open six hours daily. They are year-round schools. In addition there are children's playgrounds open during the summer months.

The primary division of four years' length enrolls children between the ages of eight and twelve. This corresponds roughly to the upper division of our elementary school. Pupils complete their work in this division at the approximate age our children complete the six-year elementary school.

Above this primary school are two divisions of the secondary school of three years each. These divisions, again, correspond to the three-year junior and senior high schools in our American educational systems. These Russian secondary schools complete the ten-year system of general education offered by the Soviets.

Those who complete this ten-year school program may enter the university or other types of higher specialized educational institutions. These advance schools offer a four- or five-year course of instruction.

To meet what the Soviets recognized as emergency conditions students who had completed the first three-year division of the six-year secondary school were permitted to enter upon a program of vocational education. Before 1940 one plan,

called the "Factory Apprentice Schools," gave instruction in skilled vocations for a period of from six months to one year; the other plan, called the Technicum, usually offered a four-year vocational course which prepared students for business, management, agriculture, industry, nursing, social service, teaching, and professional vocations. In 1940 the Factory Apprentice Schools were replaced by a new vocational division to prepare against the possibilities of war. This division comprised three types of schools: (1) Trade Schools, (2) Railway Schools, both of which maintained two-year courses, (3) Industrial Schools with a six months' course. Students could enter (1) and (2) at fourteen and fifteen, and (3) at sixteen or seventeen. Girls, however, were not eligible for these three schools. This is the first exception to the principle of coeducation adopted by the Soviets from the beginning of their régime as an integral part of their educational program.

Besides the schools outlined above students might begin vocational education in the skilled occupations of industry and agriculture directly from the primary division.

The early Soviet education reflected the best American educational thinking of the day in curriculum and methods. What frontier thinkers were advancing as the best in educational procedures the Russians were putting into practice. They tried to make the work of the school reflect the life of the world about the school. Activities of the school were closely associated with living problems of home and community. The "project" method was widely used under the title of "complex" method. Functional projects that had vital significance for the home or community were used where possible. Youth became identified with projects for social betterment within their local communities. Latitude was given for student participation in class and school planning; student government was encouraged and widely practiced. The Dalton Plan, which was receiving so much attention in American educational writings during the twenties, was widely copied as an educational device. Field trips were extensively used to give students first-hand acquaintance with the world about them.

It was quite clear that the educational practice of the school did not square with the practice of the state. The curriculum

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and methods employed were those best designed to create critical, independent, and creative thinking on the part of the student. Such an educational outcome was highly desirable for a democracy but not for an autocratic state such as Russia. Criticism of these educational practices led finally, in 1931-1934, to a drastic change to more formal classroom methods with emphasis upon textbooks and lectures.

As was true in Germany under the Nazis, the Soviets have been very realistic and effective in the use of education as a means of service to the state and for the propagandizing of its ideas. It is also true that the Soviets have made effective use of

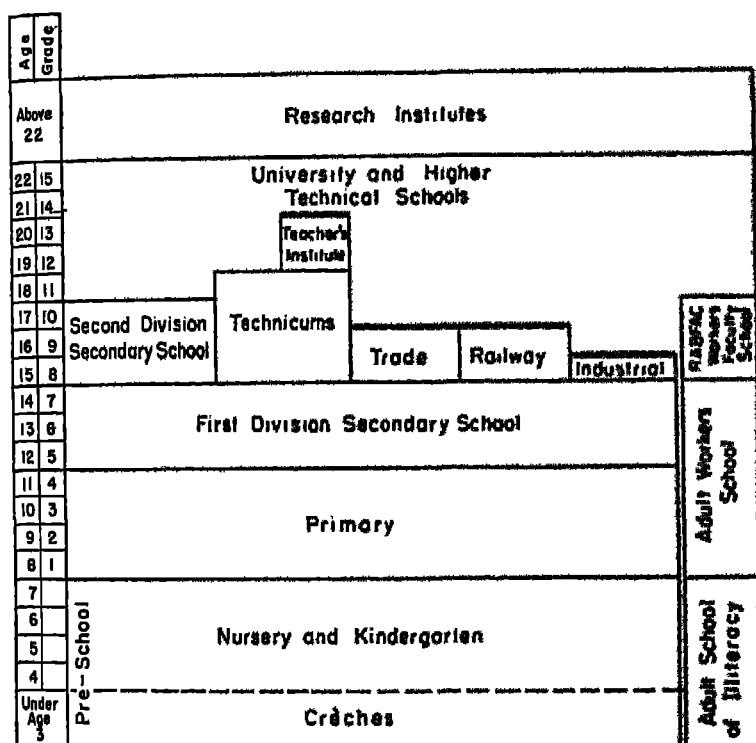


FIGURE V. THE MAIN SCHOOL SYSTEM OF SOVIET RUSSIA AS IT WAS ORGANIZED IN 1940. There was an extensive plan of adult education which, because of its complexity and somewhat tenuous relation to the public school system for childhood and youth, is not included in this chart. Those divisions crowned with a double bar indicate end of education ladder reached.

youth organizations to supplement the educational work of the school. Three organizations have enrolled those from tender age to adulthood. (1) The *Octobrists* take children from ages seven to eleven, (2) the *Pioneers*, from ages eleven to sixteen, and (3) the *Komsomols*, or Young Communist League, from ages sixteen to twenty-five. These organizations are under the direction of the Communist Party, but are closely associated with the schools. Members are drilled in Communist ideology, carry on activities such as marching, health activities, performing many services for the Party, and in many practical ways are identified with the life and activities of the Communist Party.

It may not be an exaggeration to say that at present no nation is engaged as seriously in the business of educating its people as is Russia. They have streamlined education to achieve a definite goal. The effectiveness of their organization and methods must be acknowledged. When a nation as economically poor as Russia has been believes sufficiently in the beneficence of education that it is willing to invest in education the sum of thirteen billion dollars in one year, or the equivalent of 7 per cent of its national income, whereas America, in the same year, spent less than three billion or approximately 1½ per cent of its national income on education, educational leaders in America and elsewhere may well follow closely and with some concern the future educational results that flow from such a policy.

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Questions and Problems

1. Why is it said that our early educational institutions were influenced by northern European thought and practice?
2. In what ways did the schools of Europe reflect the social backgrounds of the peoples these schools served?
3. In what ways did our early school practices reflect European school practices?
4. Show in what way English schools of the early sixteenth and seventeenth century were reflected in the colonial schools of 1635-1700.
5. In what ways were the German secondary schools different from and similar to the secondary schools of England during the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?
6. Why did France not develop a state system of secondary education during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?
7. Differentiate between the *lycée* and the *collège* of France.
8. Explain how Switzerland and Holland exercised such an influence on the educational development of our early American secondary schools.
9. Indicate the educational influence upon Germany and America of such German leaders as Francke and Hecker.
10. Draw up charts in parallel columns showing the similarities and differences in secondary education in 1700 for England, Germany, and America. Do the same for 1850.
11. What evidence, if any, do you find of an interplay of European and American influences upon the fortunes of secondary education? Can it be said that at any time since 1650 American educational thought has influenced the program of secondary education in Europe?
12. Discuss the development of coeducation in the secondary schools of Europe.

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13. Explain in some detail what is meant by the term "English public schools." How do they differ from other schools of England?
14. Explain the Fisher Act of 1918 and the Education Act of 1944.
15. a. Describe the early organization of secondary education in Russia following the 1917 Revolution.
b. What progress has Russia made toward literacy since 1917?
16. Describe the youth organizations of Russia and give some estimate of their effectiveness.
17. Have students report on and attempt to evaluate some of the educational books that have purported to describe education as it exists in Russia.
18. Have a class discussion or panel discussion on the question of what is actually happening in Russian education at the present time.

PART III

PRESENT TASK OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

CHAPTER VII

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPIL?

It is customary to speak of the life span of the individual as embracing three general periods of his life; childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. It is the function of the secondary school, as its designation implies, to serve the educational needs of this second phase of normal human existence. In any attempt to see the agency in our modern society it is essential to understand the nature of that division in the life span known as adolescence.

Adolescence is not easy to define so that the definition carries a complete functional picture of this period. If the biologist or the physician attempts a definition of adolescence, he is likely to think in terms of the physiological characteristics of this period. For him adolescence may be defined as that period in the life of the boy or girl which extends from the beginning of puberty through the maturation of the reproductive function. Attention is here focused upon but one phase of adolescence, although a most important one. With this fundamental biological development many other characteristics of the adolescent period are associated.

The school administrator, the statistician, or the legalist is likely to define adolescence as the age period spanning approximately the years between twelve and twenty-four. For obvious reasons it is important to see adolescence in terms of the total years covered. It is not easy to be specific about the age span of adolescence because there is a marked difference in the beginning and ending of adolescence for individuals, as well as for the sexes. Girls usually mature more rapidly than boys. One writer illustrates the problem by assuming one hundred youths start-

ing out on a trip from the East to the West coasts. Some would go by plane, others by fast train, a few by slow train, a number by automobile, still others would hitchhike, and two or three brave souls might attempt to walk the distance. They would arrive at different times and in varying conditions symptomatic of the relative rigors of the journey each experienced.

A psychologist or an educator is likely to think of adolescence in terms of the whole gamut of physical, mental, emotional, and social changes and adjustments through which the boy or girl of this period passes. Adolescence will then be defined in terms of these characteristics somewhat as follows:

It is the period of leaving school, of breaking away from parental domination, of vocational selection and adjustment, of establishing self-reliance and self-responsibility in conduct; it is the period of sexual restraint in the years between sexual maturation and the age when marriage is approved; it is the period in which the body as a whole reaches its mature proportions, and is normally a time of vigorous health; it is a period in which religion plays a large and often changing function in life; and it is above all a period of social adjustment, one in which the social situation has perhaps a larger influence upon the personality pattern than at any other time in life. It is a period so freighted with problems and possibilities as to make it a most critical period of growth.¹

The more that is known about the period usually thought of as adolescence, the more difficult it becomes to define it in a simple sentence or two. Many of the more recent treatments of this segment of the life span content themselves with an extended picture of the characteristics of this period. For all practical purposes of the school, *adolescence may be considered as that period beginning with the onset of puberty and continuing to the emergence of the individual in full possession of the mature physical, mental, emotional, and social powers and characteristics that stamp him an adult.* It may well be thought of as the transition period from childhood to the attainment of adulthood. For girls the approximate age range of this period is from eleven to twenty-two, and for boys the age range is about from thirteen to twenty-four.

¹Conklin, Edmund S., *Principles of Adolescent Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1935, p. 2.

What physiological changes take place during adolescence?

Physical growth. The rapid growth of the body structure is a striking characteristic of adolescence. Easily observable is the rapid growth in height and weight. By the time the adolescent girl has reached the age of eighteen she has attained her adult height. The boy is a little slower in reaching his. By the time he is twenty growth in height will have leveled off. For a couple of years thereafter slight gains may be noted, but, in general, full stature for life has been reached. From birth until about the age of ten boys maintain a slight advantage in height over girls. The next four years the girls grow more rapidly than the boys. From age fifteen or sixteen on the boys show a marked growth in height over girls.

Similar differences in the growth pattern for weight are ob-

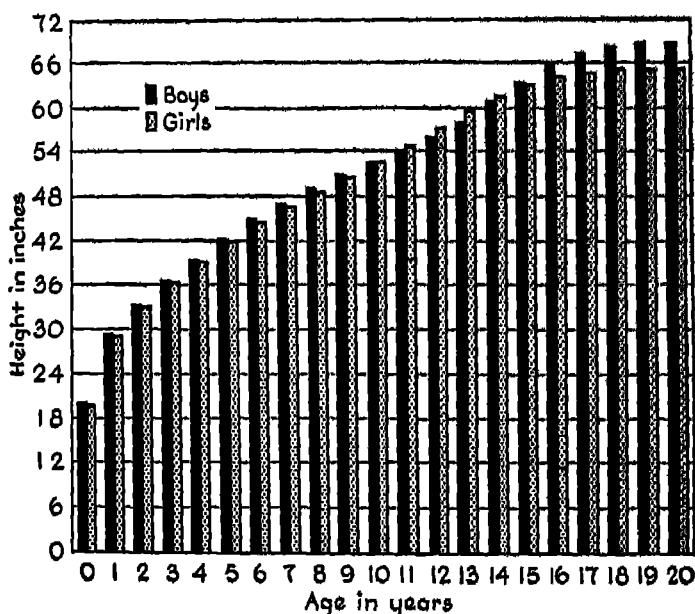


FIGURE VI. GROWTH IN STATURE (AFTER PFUHL). From Graulich, W. W., "Physical Changes in Adolescence," The National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook, Part I*, p. 10. Department of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944.

servable. Through the years of childhood boys tend to weigh more than girls. At about the age of eleven the girls begin to catch up with the boys, and from then on show a marked superiority in weight until the age of fifteen when the boys again take the lead. The gain in weight for the boys over the girls is relatively much greater than the advantage the boys have over the girls in height at the age of twenty. Unlike height, which shows

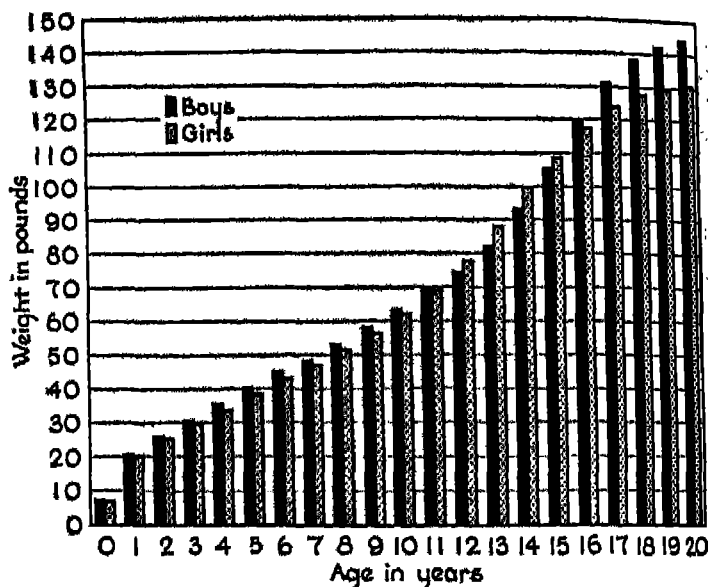


FIGURE VII. GROWTH IN BODY WEIGHT (AFTER PFUHL). From Greulich, W. W., "Physical Changes in Adolescence," *The National Society for the Study of Education, Adolescence, Forty-third Yearbook, Part I*, p. 11. Department of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

little gain after adulthood is reached, weight tends to level off at maturity but does not stop. Age-weight charts indicate quite clearly the normal expectation of some accession of weight for both sexes with the advance of age.

Although it is true that patterns of height and weight show the general characteristics suggested, it should not be expected that individual cases will always conform to the pattern. Such patterns as shown in the charts are based upon average tendencies revealed in the study of large numbers. Individual vari-

ations are numerous and often very marked. These variations should be expected and in general looked upon as normal growth patterns for the individual boy or girl in question. It is not uncommon, for example, to see an adolescent boy increase his weight fifteen to twenty or more pounds in one year, or gain five or six inches in height. These spurts are normal for boys and girls at this age and do not occur at the same age for all. It should not be forgotten also that the usual age-weight-height charts are the product of averaging thousands of measurements of weight and height at different ages. The frantic efforts of many parents to force children and youth to eat quantities of unwanted food to bring their weights up to the norms of the age-height-weight tables are familiar to all. The equally absurd and often health-vitiating struggles of adolescent girls to keep their figures ultra slim and modish, even below the chart norms, are equally well known and to be deplored. Age-height-weight charts should be understood for what they are—general averages only. Whether one is small or large boned in structure and whether the immediate family ancestral background runs predominantly to tall, short, slim, stocky, or fleshy types may be much better guides to which side of the norms the adolescent should expect to find himself. There are many other factors that may influence the divergence of individuals from the norm for which no remedy is desirable or possible. Foremost among these is the maturing of the sex glands, which varies with individuals. This will be discussed later. Except in cases of very noticeable deviations from the norms, particularly in weight, the adolescent should be taught to follow accepted standards of healthful living and not be too much concerned about age-height-weight charts.

There are other aspects of physical growth that the teacher and school should keep in mind. Teachers have been heard to remark to a boy who has inadvertently knocked an ink bottle or books off a desk as he awkwardly brushed against it, "You clumsy thing, can't you see where you're going?" The epithet has only added to the boy's discomfort about a point in his behavior of which he is painfully conscious but seems unable to control. He deserves sympathetic understanding instead of withering criticism. He is a victim of his rapid growth. Un-

fortunately for him, his bones and his muscles have not grown evenly. His legs have added most to his height and his arms have gained unduly in length. As a result he is not certain of his reach or sure how to gauge his ability to cover distance. The teacher scolds because Henry has his big feet out in the aisle but fails to realize that Henry does not know what to do with his long legs which are cramped under a desk wholly unsuited to his rapid growth. The muscles, too, have not grown to keep pace with the rapid lengthening of legs and arms and this adds further to his discomfort when he is seated at desks unsuited to the growing boy. The uneven growth of muscles and bones adds, too, to the lack of coordination so evident in this period of awkwardness and clumsiness and to that restlessness so characteristic of this age. These are the causes of much irritation to the teacher who does not understand. A boy of seventeen who had gained almost seven inches in one year so that he was over six feet tall was taken to a wedding in a church where the pew in which he was seated was small and crowded. Throughout the service he sat with his knees cramped against the back of the pew in front, or he stretched his legs out sideways in an effort to be comfortable. The accompanying noise attended by the shifting of rapidly overgrown number twelve feet in an effort to be comfortable was a source of embarrassment to the adolescent as well as to his parents. What has been said of boys to make the situation graphic is true of girls as well. They find themselves ill at ease and often unhappy over these normal adolescent growth situations. Their problems are likely to be enhanced during their period of rapid development by the fact that they have physically outgrown the boys of their own age. This often creates a problem of association between boys and girls of the same age because of conscious differences in size and interests.

The point of view that the apparent awkwardness of youth is the result of the irregular growth of bones and muscles has been the accepted explanation of these observable phenomena of adolescent behavior. There are some recent students of this problem who question the cause-effect explanation. They contend that most recent studies of physical coordination and motor efficiency show a steady growth curve from childhood

through adolescence. The explanation offered for the seeming clumsiness of youth in social situations is better explained by the embarrassments felt in the novel social circumstances to which adolescents are subjected rather than to any decrease in physical or motor coordination and control.⁸ The evidence at this point does not appear to be conclusive in support of either school of thought. Both factors no doubt contribute to the adolescent difficulties.

A study made of a group of adolescent boys and girls over an eight-year period suggests the importance of physical development upon the morale of youth. Of 93 boys observed it was estimated that 31 per cent, at some time during the period of the study, were seriously disturbed by their physical characteristics; of 83 girls involved in the study 41 per cent had similar difficulties. The range of physical cause for some of these disturbances is of interest. The categories of physical peculiarities that caused the disturbances may be listed as follows:⁹

| | Boys | Girls |
|---------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Unsatisfactory size or weight | 14 | 21 |
| Poor physique | 7 | 7 |
| Lack of muscular strength | 4 | |
| Facial features | 4 | 5 |
| Unusual development nipple area | 4 | 2 |
| Acne and skin blemishes | 5 | 2 |
| Noticeable scoliosis | 2 | |
| Abnormal size of genitalia | 2 | |
| Eye glasses and strabismus | | 2 |
| Late development | | 2 |
| Hair | | 1 |
| Brace on back | | 1 |

Organic growth. The uneven growth of the heart and arteries during adolescence is similar to that of the bones and muscles. The heart grows more rapidly than the rest of the

⁸See Goodnough, F. L., "The Development of the Reactive Process from Early Childhood to Maturity," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 18:431-50, August, 1935. Also see data in National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 100-145.

⁹Adapted from data p. 86. National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

circulatory system. The heart of the child is only slightly wider than the arteries into which it must pump the blood. A radical change takes place during the adolescent period; the rate of growth of the heart greatly exceeds that of the arteries so that the heart attains a width several times the width of the arteries. The change in ratio of width of heart to arteries is approximately five to four in childhood as compared with five to one in adolescence; that is, the heart has grown about 30 per cent larger but the opening into which it must pump blood has become scarcely 10 per cent larger.

This places a heavy strain upon the heart of the rapidly growing adolescent. Blood pressure rises very rapidly during the early phase of adolescent growth and levels off as later adolescence is reached. At the beginning of adolescence there is little difference between the blood pressures of boys and girls. Thereafter the blood pressure rises at a more rapid rate in boys than in girls. This may account for much of the general lessened activities of girls in later adolescence.

The dangers of overstrain and the need for care against excessive activity during the period of most rapid growth of the adolescent boy or girl should receive careful attention.⁴ The fact that boys and girls of this age may occasionally suffer dizziness, headaches, or faintness should be accepted as normal unless these become severe or persistent.

Unlike the heart, little need be said about the growth of the lungs and digestive system during adolescence, which is rapid. Minor difficulties may be experienced due to some unevenness of growth between the stomach and the other organs of digestion. In general the growth of these organs is proportioned to the over-all development of the rest of the body. Boys and girls of this age develop ravenous appetites as the stomach enlarges and rapidity of bodily growth requires a greater amount of nourishment.

⁴The danger of heart overstrain in adolescence is seriously challenged by many medical authorities. The fact of the growth differential between heart and arteries during adolescence is not questioned. They insist, however, that the elasticity of the heart muscles has been amply compensated by nature to care for the inequality of growth in size of heart and arteries. Moreover, they point to the fact that the amount of blood to be pumped through the arteries has not changed greatly.

In this period youths often develop peculiar notions about the food they like and the food that is good for them. It would be surprising if the tremendous demands upon digestion at this time, along with some lack of uniformity in the maturing of all bodily functions, did not lead to difficulties. The most disconcerting one for adolescents, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of skin eruptions. These usually are more distressing to adolescent vanity than evidence of serious external or internal disorders.

Glandular development. Adolescence is a period of general intensity of glandular activity. Most glands are active from childhood to senility or death, but the normal rapid growth and maturation of the body at the adolescent period may intensify very noticeably the activity of several glands; and one or two appear to have a peculiar importance for this stage in bodily development.

The two endocrine glands that have major significance for the adolescent period are the pituitary and the sex glands. The pituitary gland, located at the base of the brain, consists of two lobes, an anterior and a posterior, the latter consisting of two parts. Our concern is with the anterior lobe. Here the hormone known as the growth hormone is manufactured. It is responsible for the growth of the body; and is of interest because it is the cause of the rapid growth of the adolescent boy or girl. If the pituitary gland did not produce a sufficient amount of hormone, the boy or girl would be stunted in growth; or, in case of extreme deficiency of the hormone, the result would be a dwarf. On the contrary the generous supply of the hormone produces the very tall, gangling adolescent. When the production of the hormone becomes excessive, we have the condition known as gigantism, the abnormally large man or woman.

Another hormone produced by the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland is credited with the onset of puberty. It is the "gonad-stimulating," or gonadotrophic, hormone. By some pre-arranged signal of the bodily mechanism we do not yet understand, at the appropriate time the pituitary gland begins to "step-up" the production of this hormone. It, in turn, stimulates the rapid development of the gonads into the mature testes or ovaries of the adolescent boy or girl. Without this "stepping-

up" in the production of the gonadotrophic hormone at this stage in human growth, puberty would not take place. The reproductive organs would remain in a state of arrested development or immaturity. The individual would show little or none of the secondary sex characteristics that distinguish the maturing adolescent boy or girl. If the secretion of the hormone is excessive or begins in early childhood, we have premature development of the sex organs and the secondary sex characteristics. An extreme example may be cited of a girl who menstruated for the first time at the age of three. Cases are reported of precocious developments in which sex maturity had so progressed that marriage and fatherhood had taken place at the age of nine. The case of Lina Medina is an example in point. This Peruvian girl is reported to have menstruated regularly since the age of eight months. At the age of five years this girl gave birth to a normal male child.⁵

The gonadotrophic hormone has the function of stimulating the growth and development of the gonads. As the gonads develop, they produce hormones which, in turn, stimulate the normal growth of the sex organs. The ovarian hormones stimulate the development of the reproductive organs of the woman and also are responsible for the development of the secondary sex characteristics of the female. The male hormones perform the same function for the development of the male reproductive organs and male secondary sex characteristics.

The pituitary gland is of interest also because there appears to be a definite interaction between the hormonal secretions of the pituitary glands and the hormones produced by the sex glands. The sex hormones, it is believed, influence the rate of production of the growth hormone by the pituitary gland. Too early or too rapid a production of sex hormones tends to reduce the manufacture of growth hormones. The early development of the gonads, or sex maturation, reacts to reduce the secretion of growth hormones and this, in turn, tends to reduce the growth tempo of the individual. There appears,

⁵For a graphic account of this celebrated case and the status of mother and child eight years later see Krehm, William, "What Has Become of Lina Medina?" *Life*, 23:3, 11, 12, 14, December 15, 1947.

then, to be a definite relationship between the appearance of puberty and the tallness or shortness of adolescent growth. Early puberty is associated with relative shortness, and the late appearance of puberty with tallness.

In any discussion of glandular activity upon adolescent development it is necessary to recognize the continuity of glandular action and the interrelations of the endocrine glands. As far as is known the endocrine glands are active throughout all or most of life. About the time of the onset of puberty certain glands, particularly the pituitary and the sex glands, or gonads, become very active. Because their action is directly responsible for the major changes that take place in the boy or girl during adolescence, the behavior of these glands has been singled out for consideration. At the time that these glands are increasing the tempo of their activity, other endocrine glands, the thyroid, adrenals, and the pineal, are "stepping-up" their volume of secretions to stimulate body growth and development.

The specific contribution of the other endocrine glands to the maturing of the adolescent may not be so clearly in evidence as in the case of the pituitary and the gonads, but of their interrelatedness as a family there now seems to be no doubt. Failure of the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland to secrete a sufficient amount of gonadotrophic hormones "results in failure of body growth, failure of sexual development, and depression of the adrenal, thyroid, and sex glands." On the other hand, the importance of the other endocrine glands for the proper development of the pubertal process is evidenced "by the fact that when there are serious defects in any of them, the reproductive mechanism fails to develop properly."⁴

The foregoing discussion has inferred a possible variation in the maturation of the sex function. This fact in the development of adolescence is of the utmost significance for the school and the teacher. There is a general variable of from one to two years in the sex maturation of boys and girls. Puberty, or the

⁴For a complete discussion of the significance of the endocrine glands for sex development and their interrelatedness see Hoskins, R. G., *Endocrinology*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1941; also see Schelsfeld, Amram, *Women and Men*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1944.

onset of the active development of the gonads and the reproductive organs, begins for girls at about the eleventh or twelfth year, and for boys one to two years later. Numerous studies have been made of the time of the beginning of pubescence. C. W. Crampton studied the sex maturation of 4,000 boys of New York City. He studied their progress through the maturation of the reproductive function at six-month intervals from age 12.3 years to age 17.9 years.

TABLE 20
A STUDY OF SEX MATURATION IN 4,000 BOYS¹

| <i>Chronological Age</i> | <i>Per cent Prepubescent</i> | <i>Per cent Pubescent</i> | <i>Per cent Postpubescent</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 12.3 | 81 | 16 | 3 |
| 12.9 | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| 13.3 | 55 | 26 | 18 |
| 13.9 | 41 | 28 | 31 |
| 14.3 | 26 | 28 | 46 |
| 14.9 | 16 | 24 | 60 |
| 15.3 | 9 | 20 | 70 |
| 15.9 | 5 | 10 | 85 |
| 16.3 | 2 | 4 | 93 |
| 16.9 | 1 | 4 | 95 |
| 17.3 | 0 | 2 | 98 |
| 17.9 | 0 | 0 | 100 |

A similar study of almost 7,000 girls revealed even a greater variation among girls in the approach to puberty. Both studies indicate uneven development of boys and girls at the adolescent age. Other studies have verified the general findings of these two studies.²

Mental growth. The factor of mental growth in adolescence is important. The rapid growth in the intellectual powers of the individual, so marked in childhood, is continued in the early years of adolescence. A slowing down in the rate of men-

¹Crampton, C. W., "Physiological Age—A Fundamental Principle," *American Physical Education Review*, 13:150, March, 1908.

²Baldwin, Bird T., "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, I, 1, 1923.

Engle, E. and Shelesnyak, M., "First Menstruation and Subsequent Menstrual Cycles of Pubertal Girls," *Human Biology*, VI:431-53, September, 1934.

TABLE 21
THE APPEARANCE OF PUBERTY IN 6,375 GIRLS²

| <i>Chronological Age</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 11 ⁰ -12 ⁶ | 220 | 3.2 |
| 12 ⁰ -13 ⁶ | 1050 | 15.3 |
| 13 ⁰ -14 ⁶ | 2717 | 39.5 |
| 14 ⁰ -15 ⁶ | 2162 | 31.4 |
| 15 ⁰ -16 ⁶ | 640 | 9.3 |
| 16 ⁰ -17 ⁶ | 86 | 1.3 |

tal growth begins to take place in later adolescence. Contrary to the older view of Terman and others that growth ceased somewhere between the ages of eighteen and twenty, it is now generally accepted that mental growth continues throughout most of life, or at least until the period of senility is reached. Some authorities believe that approximately 50 per cent or more of adult growth in mental ability is reached by or shortly after the age of eleven. Studies are in general agreement that the acceleration of the growth curve begins to taper off rapidly after the thirteenth or fourteenth years and levels off quite markedly in early post-adolescence.¹⁰

There are other aspects of the growth of mentality important in the consideration of adolescence. Between various levels of mental ability there appears to be a "rate of growth more or less proportional to their initial ability." That is, as the bright, the average, or the dull progress from childhood through adolescence the divergence in their mental abilities becomes greater. Heterogeneity, thus, becomes a greater problem for the secondary school than it does for the elementary grades. Added to this is the fact that considerable evidence now indicates that early maturity is definitely associated with a high level of intelligence. One authority approaches this question affirmatively yet with the comment, "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, at least for a part of adolescence, a

¹⁰Atkinson, R. K., "A Study of Athletic Ability of High School Girls," *American Physical Education Review*, 30:389-99, September, 1925.

²National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 154 ff.

genuine although small relationship exists between intelligence and physical maturing. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this is due to the influence of common, inherent, growth factors upon both mental and physical or physiological characteristics."¹¹ One further factor with respect to the nature of adolescent learning needs to be considered. To what extent, if any, are there qualitative differences in the growth of mental ability? Some studies have tended to show slight differences in the improvement of some mental functions between adolescence and adulthood. It is possible, for example, that rote memory may mature early while more complex functions, such as reasoning, may mature later. At present the general conclusion is that the possible differences noted are simply one of degree and that "the full realization of the individual's intellectual capacity, expressed in terms of general achievement, comes much later than the middle teens."¹²

What psychological developments are characteristic of adolescence?

The change from childhood to adolescence to adulthood has its psychological aspect for youths. There has been a marked shift in emphasis upon the psychology of this period. Older writers emphasized the extreme emotional "stress and strain" features of the adolescent period. Today, there is a tendency to play down this emphasis and to regard the period of adolescence as not greatly different emotionally from the periods of childhood and adulthood which precede and follow it. Each period has its peculiar psychological or emotional problems. In the very nature of adolescence it should be expected that many emotional disturbances that bother the youth at this age would arise out of those aspects of growth and development peculiar to the period. Because of the extraordinary nature of the changes taking place within the individual and the change in the way his environment now impinges upon him, it would be a grave disservice to the adolescent to

¹¹National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Year-book*, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, p. 169.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 178.

ignore the heavy emotional tensions these changes bring him. A very large proportion of these problems are new, and for the majority of adolescents it is probably a time of great emotional disturbance.

Rapid physiological changes bring emotional distresses. The rapid and uneven growth of the boy or girl and the awkwardness and clumsiness that result produce a sense of uncertainty and confusion. The uncertainty of a boy's movements naturally leads to embarrassment and a feeling of insecurity in his environment. The commendable, though not always wise, thrift that leads many parents to clothe fast-growing youths in garments a size or two too large may have serious psychological repercussions upon the sensitive ego of the boy or girl so clothed. The parents, who just cannot reconcile themselves to give up their little boy, create for him a prolonged embarrassing situation and a sense of inferiority because they refuse to let him "shave off" that fuzzy downy beard. Emotionally disturbing too is the changing voice. The shifting of the voice to a lower register in itself would be concern enough, but the fact that it is likely to crack under the strain of excitement causes a constant threat of embarrassment at most crucial times.

Many emotional problems arise because of different stages of adolescent development as well as the occasional case of a boy who is very short and the girl who is exceedingly tall. A girl who matured early in adolescence, and grew to a height of six feet, found her early adolescence a nightmare and never could reconcile herself to her height during her teens. She was almost half again as tall as her girl friends in the neighborhood with whom she had played since early childhood. Gangling and gawky, she was not a popular dance companion of boys her own age and not accepted by the older boys whose height matched hers. Added to this seeming misfortune was a noticeable case of acne. The unhappy girl doctored and dieted and grew morose and irritable. Not only was she extremely unhappy but her unhappiness and bad disposition worried and upset the serenity of her parents. The same thing can happen for the boy who finds himself on the side lines and in a real sense ignored by his erstwhile buddies as they participate in

those robust sports which his smallness of stature, his roundity, or his frailness denies to him. No boy can be happy when he is a pee-wee among his former playmates. He is at even a greater disadvantage with the girls of his age.

Not the least of the psychological effects of this period is that occasioned by the maturation of the sex function. The psychical effects of this event upon the adolescent are most profound. Even to grant the modern point of view of authorities that sex development and differentiation is definitely, though slowly, shaping the physical growth of boys and girls toward their future destinies long before puberty, it must be recognized that a radical and rapid change takes place with the onset of pubescence. Psychologically boys and girls have been taught to react differently, to be different. To nurture the feminine traits girls have been dressed differently, have been encouraged to continue playing with dolls throughout childhood, and have been led to develop a set of interests and activities that the culture of which they are a part fully approved. In the case of boys a very different set of patterns of play interests, attitudes, and behavior have been developed to conform to what the culture has thought appropriate for the masculine sex.

Even so, it is with the emergence of puberty that life takes on new wonder and meaning. What the emotional reactions will be to the sheer facts of sex as these now force themselves upon the consciousness of adolescents depends largely on the preparation the home has made for the approach of this event. The boys and girls who have been taught to look upon sex as a natural and wholesome phase of normal life are likely to experience thrill and exultation at this evidence of promise that they are to be capable of full participation in that important phase of the adult life of their culture—the establishment and maintenance of a home and family. The approach of the menarche in girls will not produce the shock, fear, and revulsion likely where puberty is reached in secrecy and cloaked in mystery. The boy likewise will not be too greatly disturbed by the manifestations of pubescence. At best, emotional disturbances will come with the normal manifestations of this

developing sex life. They are likely to be intensified and serious for the boy or girl who has not had wise preparation for the coming of puberty.

Important as are the emotional reactions of youth to the physical side of the developing sex function, the wider psychological effects are of greater importance. How will the boy and girl react to his or her place in the biological scheme of nature? This is a more serious problem for girls than for boys. Fortunately, it is becoming less and less of a problem as a more intelligent approach is made to these matters. It is true that the greater burden of sex appears to rest upon the woman. The inconvenience and discomfort of the menstrual period has been a source of great emotional disturbance to many girls and women. The customary restriction in activities along with the embarrassing appearance of facial eruptions so characteristic of many at this time has led many women to bitterness and resentment toward the whole business of sex and particularly toward woman's part in it. These difficulties are not experienced by the boys. The major responsibility for the rearing of children, of necessity, rests upon women. The unfortunate attitude of older cultures, now rapidly disappearing in our own, of placing a greater premium on the birth of a boy than a girl has for many women added fuel to the fires of psychological disturbances. Studies have shown that far more girls than boys wish they were of the opposite sex. Needless to say such reactions are psychologically bad. They tend to color with morbidity the outlook on life of those who possess such attitudes.

On the whole, boys and girls at this period in their lives begin to take pride in the fact of their sex. The boy becomes increasingly conscious of his place in the scheme of things as a member of the fraternity of men. The girl accepts with equal pride her place and destiny among women. Each strives to live up to the standards and behavior patterns considered as typical of the sex groups. They are emotionally depressed when they feel that at any point they fail to measure up to the masculine or feminine patterns they believe are expected of them.

What social problems characterize the adolescent period?

The psychological changes that come with the definite emergence of adolescence are closely related to the social development of youth. As the youth begins to see himself as an integral part of the life cycle, there unfolds before him much more clearly his place in the larger social scene. Whereas, in the years immediately preceding pubescence, he was only mildly interested in the opposite sex, if not positively antagonistic, now a new interest arises. A new emotional attraction is now associated with a deeper awareness of the social significance of the opposite sex to the completeness of the individual's life. This transition usually comes relatively quickly in the social thinking of the developing adolescent. Because boys and girls mature at different ages there is a momentary social problem, at least for the girls.

It was the good fortune of the writer to observe somewhat intimately a group of girls at this stage in their development. One year, near the close of school in late April or early May, a half dozen girl companions were eagerly planning a party. At one point in their planning they became apprehensive about the boys of their class. How could they have a party without those nuisances interfering, in all likelihood trying to steal the girls' ice cream or otherwise tormenting them? The cloud hovering over their party was the possible unwanted presence of the boys. Almost exactly one year later this same group of girls were planning another party. But how all had changed! Now their chief anxiety arose over the possibility the boys would not come to the party. And how could they have a party without the boys? In twelve months the onset of puberty had completely changed these girls' attitude toward the importance of the opposite sex for their social happiness. But unfortunately, the boys, delayed in the onset of puberty, were "of the opinion still" which they held toward girls the previous year.

The adolescent discovers new interests in life concomitant with the attraction for the opposite sex. He finds his thoughts projected more and more into the future. He is no longer primarily concerned with self; he is projected into a social

being. Life takes on new meaning. His plans for the future consciously take into account one of the opposite sex. These plans, whatever they may be, are essentially social in nature.

The problem of social adjustment between the sexes now takes on new importance. Society imposes new rules and conventions in the social intercourse between the sexes. They are expected to conform to new standards of conduct thought by society to be most appropriate to the *mores* of the cultural group. Much of the free and easy camaraderie of early childhood is looked upon with doubt. Fortunately, modern society is trying to remove many of the older conventions which are not appropriate to present conditions and which limit the opportunity for youth to develop that wholesome friendliness so essential to the later creation of happy companionship in home and family life.

The desire to appear to best advantage in the presence of the opposite sex is dominant. The boy who was indifferent to his clothes and personal appearance now keeps his clothes pressed, shoes shined, and hair combed. The girl becomes concerned about her dress and personal appearance. Let the young woman become interested in some young man. Her care of her personal appearance is apparent to all. The girl who has been satisfied to let her hair remain somewhat straight and straggly suddenly appears in class with a new permanent and other changes in her appearance. The wide awake teacher can soon discover the cause of the transformation both in appearance and obvious alertness of the young lady. Boys who have had no interest in dancing now take dancing lessons; and girls who were little interested in athletic activities now show an interest in sports. There is a frequent appeal to books on etiquette to insure appropriate behavior under different social situations. In all, the youths are now socially conscious and concerned to meet the outward standards of society.

At this point there is an apparent paradox in the attitudes of adolescents. Although, in general, the youth is concerned to meet the usual standards of etiquette, he is a belligerent social nonconformist in many things. It is youth who has little patience with adult social conventions and habits of thinking which do not seem to him to make sense. In fact he is likely

to go through a period of general mental reaction against most of the accepted beliefs and conventions of society. By and large this is not altogether without its commendable counterparts. Social progress is the product of critical reaction to established *mores* that have long since lost whatever values they may have possessed at one time. The tendency of age is to become fixed in its ways of thinking and acting. It tends to resent any suggestions of change that would jeopardize existing *mores* and require change or acquisition of new ways of doing things. The ability to carry over into adulthood the quality of a critical attitude tempered with a constructive approach to existing *mores* would be a contribution of adolescence to adulthood to be desired.

The quickening of the social interest in adolescence has a moral awakening as a concomitant. Much past behavior has been the result of conformity to ways of living set by parents. Now, with the critical attitude towards society, there is also the effort to explore the deeper meaning of life. The youth is anxious to find for himself his place in the total scheme of things, in short—to orient himself in his cosmos. He now seeks with the sages of old the answers to the age-old questions of life. He is earnestly seeking for life values—social, ethical, and philosophical—that have meaning and provide satisfaction for him. The importance of the adolescent age as a time of genuine moral interest and commitment has been recognized by the agencies of religion from time immemorial. Institutional religion of our western civilization has always placed great stress upon the early adolescent years. These years have been looked upon as a time of special moral awakening and of ready commitment to ideals and to religious devotion. From Jewish tradition through the long history of the Christian church, the age of twelve or thereabouts has been regarded as the age to bring youth into the life of the church. Modern psychological knowledge confirms the wisdom of these groups in their recognition of the importance of adolescence as a time of ready moral and religious interest.

Another aspect of contemporary adolescence cannot be overlooked. The social problems of the modern adolescent have been multiplied and intensified. In primitive society the

adolescent of today became the adult tomorrow in point of adult responsibility and adult participation in the life of the tribe. The boy who a few months before was looked upon as a child and in all probability was housed with the women became an accepted member of the adult life of the tribe. He engaged in the serious business of the chase and other appropriate activities of the adult of the tribe. It is the same with the woman of the tribe who was the girl of yesterday. Now, in modern society all is changed. There has been a prolongation of the period of adolescence. For the first time in history adolescence can anticipate a period of at least ten years in which to make the transition from childhood to adulthood. This chance for a gradual transition to adulthood has advantages. The shock of abruptness is cushioned. Adaptations and adjustments can be made more gradually.

There are other problems created by this delay. For example, the postponement of the opportunity for early marriage creates serious problems of adolescent adjustment. Primitive man shortly after the onset of puberty assumed marital relationships and the establishment of a family. In modern society youth must postpone marriage normally until long past the teen age. If his aspirations for adult vocational activities require highly technical or professional preparation, marriage is not possible for the average boy much before the age of twenty-five or thirty. Girls, too, find it undesirable to contemplate marriage much before the age of twenty. At a time when an awakening sex consciousness with its biological urges and its emotional drives demands expression, adolescents are faced with a long period of delay before normal expression in marriage can take place. The consequences may be the development of serious emotional blocking and maladjustments of personality. Our society is slowly awakening to the social consequences of delayed marriage through our prolongation of the period of adolescence.

In primitive society the individual was either a member of a family unit as a child or a member of one as an adult participant—husband or wife. Social-civic privileges and responsibilities were immediately assumed after the brief initiatory ceremonies that transferred the individual from the status of child-

hood to that of adulthood. There is a serious gap in the long adolescent interval when modern youth is accepted neither as a child nor as a social-civic adult. Larger numbers of youth in later adolescence are in a virtual no man's land. They are in truth the "lost generation"—no longer accepted in childhood circles and not yet given true recognition in the social circle of families. This situation is clearly discerned if one reflects for a moment on the circumscribed social and recreational privileges of youth of later adolescence. Like the proverbial status of the widow, they do not fit into the social scheme of the married adults. The school does not welcome them to the social activities provided for early adolescence. Their economic status does not permit them to take advantage of the better type of public entertainment. They must content themselves with semi-idleness or indulge in a low quality of social amusement consonant with the availability of such entertainment outlets and their economic ability to take advantage of them.

Some efforts are under way to remedy the situation. One state, at this writing, has reduced the legal age for full citizenship status from the traditional age of twenty-one to eighteen. Much more will have to be done to bring this group into a complete social-civic integration with society. All evidence at hand suggests that in the future the span of the adolescent period will become greater.

What economic problems characterize the adolescent period?

Many of the social problems of adolescence grow out of or are aggravated by the economic conditions that impinge upon the youth. From early adolescence the question of money is an acute one. Of course, the matter of an allowance, or pin money, or spending money, as it may be called, is of vital concern to all children. Even so, needs are not great and are largely individual. For adolescence an entirely new factor of need enters. As a boy this side of puberty in considerable disgust remarked to his brother well past middle adolescence, "Why spend your money on the dames?" The question of meeting the additional

financial burden of a date is not to be lightly dismissed. The girl must have appropriate clothes and the attention of the beauty parlor. The modern boy can scarcely get by with the old dime or fifteen-cent soda fountain treat that satisfied the social amenities of grandfather's day, if not quite that of his father's. The pressures of after-show eating and the matter of transportation make the companionship of the opposite sex a financial problem of real magnitude for the boy—and frequently for his parents. Very often the financial outlay necessary for the entertainment of middle class youth in the style demanded by the social set is far beyond what the parents feel able to spend on their own entertainment. To do less, however, would be to lose caste. Many youths in consequence have not felt equal to the feminine companionship they desire.

How can the boy who is getting beyond the period of full dependence upon his parents for money provide for his own needs? During the war there was little difficulty experienced; in ordinary times there is real difficulty. For the boy or girl in school, opportunities for odd jobs are not too plentiful; in many communities such opportunities are almost nonexistent.²⁴

At least two major difficulties face youths who would work. As technological development in industry has advanced, machines have displaced manpower to such an extent that, in sheer defense of the rights of adults who have families to support, youth has been shunted aside. In periods of economic depression virtually no work exists for the unmarried youth. The more highly technical our culture becomes, the more rigorously has youth found employment privileges denied him. Another factor which is closely related to the problem of reduced employment opportunity is the feeling of thoughtful social leaders that, as our society is becoming more complex, youth should be better equipped to cope with the many complex issues that arise. It is felt that they should spend much more time in school than formerly was required. These considerations together with others have led to restrictive employment legislation to

²⁴For a real picture of the nature of adolescent economic problems see the study of 13,000 youths by Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*, Washington: American Council on Education, 1938; and Eckert, Ruth E., and Marshall, Thomas O., *When Youth Leaves School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

keep youth off the labor market and out of competition with adults. A child labor amendment to the Constitution is now before the American people. If and when it is ratified, it will restrict most of the labor of youth before age eighteen. Compulsory school attendance laws are steadily raising the age requirements to include all youths to age eighteen.

Thus, the financial problems of youth, now acute for many, promise to become extremely acute for most of them unless society soon senses the nature of the problem and provides some solution.

Youth is not alone, or even primarily, concerned with the question of spending money, important as that is to him. Among the great issues that confront him not least of these is his vocational future. As he tries to see himself in the total picture of adulthood, he begins to think of the kind of work he would like to do or the profession he might wish to follow. He is eager to determine the nature of his vocational career and, once this decision has been reached, impatient to begin. The "pull" of the job has led many youths into hasty decisions and premature sacrifice of adequate educational preparation. Safeguarded against too hasty desertion of school, youths today can give more careful consideration to their choice of a career. Studies reveal the fluctuating nature of these early choices which grow out of the emotional immaturity of early adolescence as well as the lack of knowledge of the myriad vocational opportunities available to the properly qualified.

What is the significance of adolescence for education?

From the days of primitive man adolescence has been recognized as a period of peculiar importance for education. As youth reached the pubertal stage in his development, the culture of which he was a part arranged impressive ceremonies and initiatory rites by which the adolescent became a full sharer in the secrets, the folklore, the *mores*, the aspirations, and the tribal life of his group. This comprised the formal education of the tribal youth. He was deemed to be fully prepared thereby to accept complete membership in the tribe and assume full responsibility for his share of the group life. These rites

might require several days to several months for their completion. But life among primitive peoples was relatively simple; and the adjustment necessary to the assumption of full group life was not difficult or extensive.

The significance of adolescence for education today is not greatly different from that of primitive man. The pattern of life has become infinitely more complex and is becoming increasingly complex with each generation. Adolescent education is today in purpose much as it was in primitive society. It is broadly the function of education at this time to insure a successful transition of the maturing boy or girl into an effective participating member of an adult society.

Clearly there are necessary changes in the individual required in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Cole has indicated the general nature of these changes, and, by inference, has indicated the importance of the adolescent period for education, as she graphically characterizes what is involved in the achievement of adulthood.

As long as people become angry over superficial social situations, are afraid of what other people will think, are dependent upon older people or members of their own sex for happiness, or are inclined to take every thing personally, they have not yet ceased to be adolescents. It is at once clear that some people never grow up and that others do not become mature until long after they have passed beyond the age of legal responsibility. . . . Complete emancipation from home must take place or adolescence is not yet over. No matter how old individuals are, they remain emotionally children if they must run to their parents for understanding or assistance. . . . The true adult loves his parents and is willing to take their desires into consideration in making his plans, but he makes his own decisions and lives his own life. . . . Blind loyalty to one's friends and blind prejudice against anyone who is different are adolescent characteristics; a person of adult years who shows them is still a social adolescent. The social adult is able to get along in casual business relationships with practically any other normal adult. . . . The adolescent is typically a person who feels insecure because he does not know what to do or how to act in various social relationships. . . . An adult is characteristically able to adjust himself to ordinary and recurrent social situations easily and naturally. . . . The end of *moral* adolescence is even more difficult to define. It consists primarily in the development of some relatively stationary and relatively satisfying attitude toward life, religion, morals,

and various social problems. . . . Adolescents are characteristically in revolt against existing conditions, whether moral or social. An adult does not accept unthinkingly the existing code of morals or current social situations, but he does regard such matters as facts which exist and to which one must make some reasonable adjustment. . . . A true adult is, then, a person of complete physical development, controlled emotional reactions, and tolerant attitudes; he has economic independence and ability to treat others objectively; he is independent of parental control, reasonably satisfied with his point of view toward life, reasonably happy in his job, and usually able to get along without attracting attention in the ordinary social life about him.¹⁴

The necessary transition from the behavior pattern of adolescence to that of adulthood will not be made incidentally. It may occur accidentally, but can be assured only by a most painstaking program of educational guidance. The citizen as well as the educator must recognize the tremendous educational opportunity of this period and the resulting responsibility it implies.

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¹⁴Cole, Luella, *Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1936, pp. 486-489.

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Questions and Problems

1. Make a study of the opinion of students of adolescence since 1900 with reference to the question of whether adolescence represents a definite break with childhood. What significance have the ages 9, 12, 15, and 18 for students of adolescence during this fifty-year period?
2. How do you define adolescence? Childhood? Adulthood?
3. Study several primitive social groups as to the importance given to adolescence.
4. Have reports on the ritual customs of several primitive societies by which the adolescent is inducted into the adult life of the tribe or clan.
5. Gather all the data you can on the issue of adolescence as a period of "stress and strain."
6. Why is the period of adolescence in modern society considered so much more difficult than it is in primitive society?
7. What is the importance of sex in connection with the general period of adolescence? In what way, if any, do you consider the problem different in modern western society from what it was and is in more primitive forms of society?
8. Why is adolescence such a difficult problem for the schools?
9. Have a class or panel discussion on the question: "How can our culture better provide for the transition from adolescence to full participation in the adult life of the community?"
10. Have a class or panel discussion on the question: "How can our school better help adolescents make the transition to full and effective participation in adult society?"
11. What influence have the different glands upon adolescent development?
12. What are some of the difficulties or problems of adolescents that find their bases in the peculiar economic status of this period?
13. What do you think society should do to remedy this situation? Possibly this problem should be the basis of class study and discussion.
14. Why is adolescence such an important period for education?

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY?

Why did the early colonists come to America?

The religious motive is considered as having had a strong influence upon early American colonization. It would be impossible to single out any one motive as the exclusive reason for our forefathers seeking sanctuary in this country; seldom do people act from single motives only, nor did the early colonists. One motive frequently did represent the principal urge that caused men and women to brave the hardships, dangers, and isolation of life in a strange new world; more often several motives, some conscious and others not clearly recognized, led people to forsake friends and homeland for a strange land.

The "lure of gold" and love of adventure must be put down as the primary causes for the discovery of America and the earliest reasons for colonization. Certainly the efforts of royalty to encourage the settlement of the new world were indisputably based on economic motives. The grants of royal patents to Lord Baltimore, to William Penn, and to others in some cases settled obligations of the Crown to individuals, but in every instance were motivated by the hope of rich financial returns and a profitable extension of the power of the kingdom. The plundering by Francis Drake of the rich cities across the seas and the pirating of Dutch and Spanish vessels laden with gold and other treasure had called attention to the possibilities of these new lands. Drake's ships had brought back to Queen Elizabeth and the company which financed his exploits an estimated £600,000 in profits in return for an original invest-

ment of £5,000. During the reign of Elizabeth close to £12,000,000 was obtained from the plundering of the new lands and colonies overseas and the treasure-laden ships of Spain.

It was the hope of exploiting a new undeveloped land of similar potential wealth that led the merchants of England, as well as the Crown, to an aroused interest in the colonization of America. Sir Walter Raleigh's abortive efforts at colonization both in 1585 and 1587 were inspired by the hope of rich returns. Queen Elizabeth had given Raleigh a patent to all land he might colonize. It was stipulated that in return he was to pay to Elizabeth one-fifth of the profits from all minerals mined. It was this controlling motive which led the English Attorney General, when he was informed of a money grant for the establishment of the college of William and Mary in Virginia, because "the people of Virginia had souls to be saved," to exclaim: "Souls! Damn your souls! Make tobacco!"

Those to whom patents were given were motivated in their colonial interests by the hope of profits. Men like William Penn were actuated in their colonial policies by a religious interest as well. The colonists, of course, usually had reasons for settling in America at variance from those of the colonial patent holders though the economic motive was strong with many of the colonists. Virginia and the Carolinas were settled by emigrants from England for whom economic advantage was the principal motive. The chance to make a fortune in the new world where the soil was rich, the climate mild, and maximum returns for energy expended might be expected was a strong inducement to the settlers of the southern colonies.

A strong motive for early colonial settlement closely akin to the "lure of gold" and adventure but fundamentally and spiritually different was the desire of many for a chance to get ahead. The old world had become class-conscious and caste-ridden. The child of the manor could expect to live on a different plane from children born to the servant class. Some were born to rule and others were born to serve. It was difficult to break the bars of social caste that had developed over decades of the past. In Europe the prince and peasant had their social positions and their economic status sharply drawn. The son was expected to follow in the footsteps of his father. There

was little opportunity in the settled cultures of the old Europe for the poor or middle classes. The same was true in England where social-economic class distinctions are still very much in evidence. The liturgy of the Church of England at that time emphasized the caste system with its design to inculcate in those of lower position a recognition of and respect toward "their betters." As an example of this type of religious indoctrination of humble submission to the caste system, this quotation is offered from the old Church of England catechism: "to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters . . . and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me."

It was to get away from this condition that many came to these shores. Parents hoped for much for themselves and for their children in the new world; they hoped for better things for their children when their children left the parental roof to seek a new life and a future in America. The same ambition and aspiration motivated many of the indentured classes who came to America. Many of these became influential citizens and leaders in the councils of the colonies. Virginia in 1629 had 16 per cent of its Lower House of the Assembly made up of men who five years before had been indentured servants.

The farther north one went, the more the religious motive became a predominant reason for settlement. This was a period of religious unrest in Europe which was reflected in the type of colonists who came to America.

The Renaissance had resulted in an intellectual awakening throughout Europe. This, in turn, had led to the development of many phases of critical thought. During the sixteenth century this intellectual stirring resulted in a number of revolts against existing conditions. One important phase of this renaissance movement was a new religious awakening. This awakening led to the revolt against the Catholic church, which revolt originated in Luther's protest in Germany against abuses in the Church in the latter part of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. By the close of the century the revolt had swept throughout Europe and had led to counter-revolts. The rise of Protestantism and its success in influencing governments

throughout northern Europe was not achieved without periods of extreme religious persecutions—Catholics against Protestants, Protestants against Catholics, and Protestant groups against other Protestant groups.

In England, particularly, when the Catholic church was disassociated from the state and outlawed, the Protestant faith, known as the Church of England, took its place as the official religion of the state. Parliament not only made this form of Protestantism the state religion, but also it required all to belong to it and outlawed all other forms of religion. In the period of the long years of religious conflict, Protestantism had developed a number of divisions, each with its founder, or leader, and each giving emphasis to different aspects of religious dogma. Some of these groups sought to reform, or purify, the Church of England. Because they were willing to remain within the established church, if it could be "purified" of certain evils, they became known as Puritans. Others maintained their freedom to set up any form of religious worship they believed right, in other words, complete freedom of conscience in religion. Among these were the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers. The Church of England at first was as intolerant of these dissident groups as the Catholics had been of the Protestants when that church had been the state church. These dissidents could be severely punished, even put to death, for nonconformity to the established church. Later, when some degree of toleration had been achieved from the Church of England, there were still pressures and various forms of discrimination practiced against these nonconformists. All in all their lot was most unhappy.

A look at a map of the early colonial period will suggest at once why the settlers of the northern colonies possibly were more strongly motivated to come to this land in search of freedom to worship according to the dictates of their conscience. The Puritans settled most of New England. The middle colonies were settled principally by Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, Swedish and German Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, Dunkards, Mennonites, Moravians, and some Catholics in Maryland. The Church of England dominated the southern colonies of Virginia and North and South Carolina. The south-

ern colonies were settled predominantly by those whose religion was accepted in their native land. Thus, they would have little religious urge to come to America, whereas the other persecuted religious groups had as a prime motive the escape from religious persecution into a new land where they could worship as they chose. Even here minority Protestant sects sometimes found religious freedom to be interpreted to apply to the faith



FIGURE VIII. LOCATION OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF EARLY AMERICAN COLONISTS. Adapted from Cubberley, Ellwood P., *Public Education in the United States*. Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 23.

of the dominant group. This was the experience of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson who found it necessary to flee from the intolerance of Puritan Massachusetts to the religious freedom of Rhode Island. Religious freedom was an important motive in the drive that brought most of the early colonists to the New England and the middle colonies.

The deep yearning for political freedom was one of the dreams of most of the early colonists. It was almost concomitant with the religious motive. Tocqueville, the noted French commentator on the uniqueness of the American form of gov-

ernment, observed of the early Puritans who settled New England: "The call which summoned them from the comforts of their homes was purely intellectual; and in facing the inevitable sufferings of exile, their object was the triumph of an idea. . . . Puritanism was not merely a religious doctrine, but it corresponded in many points with the most absolute democratic and republican theories."¹ The persecuted of Europe, for religious or political ideas, or both, looked to the new world as a haven from persecution and a place where they might hold and speak their own thoughts in safety and freedom. Men stimulated by new ideas in religion soon found that these new ideas had far-reaching political implications. These ideas had brought them into conflict with the political authoritarianism of the forms of government under which they lived. In England, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the people had become aware of many of the political implications of their religious ideas. The "nonconformists" or "dissenters" of England had definitely challenged the right of the state to exercise certain powers affecting the liberty of conscience of the individual. It had led many to question the existing forms of government as the best for the welfare of men.

It had become the custom of the feudal houses of Europe to impress the youth of the lower classes into the armed service of the princes in their many wars with one another. Having the status of so much chattel, youths and their parents lived in the constant shadow of insecurity. Reigning kings and princes had adopted the further practice of selling armies to other ruling houses where they were needed. The mercenary army of Hessian soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War was an army of this type. It was a desire to escape to a land where political conditions would safeguard the rights of the individual that attracted many others to America.

A smaller group came to America to escape the legal punishments to which they had been sentenced. For a while England used the colonies as a place to dump its undesirable criminals. Forcibly emigrated as indentured servants or coming to the colonies as an alternative to the severe punishment in prospect,

¹de Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I. London: Saunders and Otley, 1835, p. 25.

this small group had motives that were not the most desirable. Within this group came many who were not criminal at heart. They were people of the highest integrity and of the very best motives who had been snared in the net of misfortune. At this time the accident of a small debt in the midst of widespread economic distress or a similar misfortune was subject to the most severe penalties. Many of these victims rose to positions of great influence in the colonies.

These were the principal motives, taken singly or in combination, clearly understood or but vaguely felt, that led the early pioneers to settle here. Possibly a more subtle force, in addition to the known reasons thus far mentioned, led these people to forsake their homelands to follow the impulse of a dream they were assured might be realized in America. This force has been well expressed by the Beards:

In addition to one or more of these motives, immigrants had a quality for which no name can be found. Countless men and women who lived amid the wars, persecutions, and poverty of the Old World and suffered from them as did the emigrants, stayed at home and continued to endure them . . . there was something in the spirit of the men and women who voluntarily made the break and migrated, a force of character not simply determined by economic, political, or religious conditions—a force that made them different from their neighbors who remained in the turmoil and poverty of the Old World. That something was a quality of energy, enterprise, daring, or aspiration that was to be a power in the course of American history, immediately and by transmission through coming generations.³

In what way was the creation of our form of government an expression of the democratic idealism of the colonists?

The democratic idealism we find woven into the pattern of our government came largely out of the ideas and experiences of colonial life. The ideals and aspirations of the first colonists provided the basis of early democratic living. The long period of rigorous living for the century and a half preceding the formation of the Constitution refined and even changed some

³Beard, Charles A. and Beard, Mary R., *A Basic History of the United States*. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1944, pp. 18-19.

of the ideas held by the early immigrants and succeeding generations.

The early colonists brought to America strange notions of personal equality and the rights of men. Most of them were in revolt against the social caste systems of Europe. From the lands they came from one's position and rights were dependent largely upon the accident of birth. When men could be treated like chattels but were expected to show every deference to those of another station in life, ideas of equality and personal rights were indeed revolutionary. Fortunately, most of the colonists were from England. In England there had been a definite break with the extreme feudal and caste systems of older continental Europe; still strong, they were in process of dissolution. The break proved a stimulus to the thinking of settlers whose thoughts were already directed to these ideas. The struggle to gain a living and the need to work together on an equal footing tended to destroy whatever vestiges of class consciousness had been carried over from the homeland. Money might buy some things, but in competition with the stern elements of nature personal stamina and resourcefulness were the priceless qualities that won out. Success in such an environment brought confidence to men without social or political pedigrees. It built up their ego and gave them a sense of equality with other men. It led them even to become somewhat intolerant of the shams of artificial status.

By these tokens all men had the same presumptive fundamental rights that any one man possessed or might claim. The caste system was out. The story is told of the Virginia farmer who in an altercation with Lord Baltimore called him a liar to his face and threatened to knock him down. Another incident is related of an accidental meeting between a somewhat self-important governor of Massachusetts and two farmers on a narrow road in the dead of winter. With the narrow road blocked by snow on either side the governor on horseback peremptorily ordered the men aside so he could pass. The farmers retorted that he should stand aside as they were just as good as he. At that the aristocratic governor drew his sword. One of the farmers immediately seized it and unceremoniously broke it in two. Those incidents and others of early colonial

behavior toward haughty officials would have shocked the people of old world cultures, and would probably have resulted in heavy punishment to the upstart offenders.

It must be remembered that the ideas of religious and political freedom were inherent in the Reformation movement even though not fully understood by Luther, the reformer. To substitute a book, the Bible, for an institution, the Church, and make every man the sole determiner of the meaning of that book as the guide of his life was instrumental in laying the foundations for those revolutionary ideas of equality before God and man that became the accepted belief of the early colonists. These ideas and their implications were stamped indelibly upon the Constitution which these pioneers and their descendants bequeathed to us.

Believing in these broad ideas of human worth and individual rights, the colonists became firm believers in the general principle of equal opportunity for all and special privilege to none. This was interpreted to encompass the social, political, economic, and moral rights of all. Every man had a right to such property and the good things of life as his genius and industry might achieve. But the advantage of position or other privileges should not weigh in his favor. The consciousness of the early colonists of the problems of political-social equality is illustrated in the first meeting of the Virginia Assembly made up of two representatives from each district of the colony. Two representatives from one of the districts were refused their seats because the patents of this district, although legal, gave certain privileges not held by the other districts. This idea of equality, in its many ramifications, found a central place in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution itself.

Two forces at work throughout the colonial period found full expression in the Constitution. The apparently contradictory ideas of cooperation and individualism flourished side by side. The basic idea of the supremacy of the individual in matters of religion carried with it many corollaries in social, political, and economic life that gave emphasis to individualism. From the first the colonists were individualists. They insisted each upon his own rights; each group and even each colony

upon their separate rights. Pioneer life tended to accentuate the individualism of these early immigrants. It was a matter of the survival of the fittest amid the rigors of a hostile climate as the graves at Plymouth after the first winter and the misfortunes at Jamestown so well testify. As the frontiers were pushed back, farmers in relative isolation learned to depend upon themselves and became self-sufficient.

Individualism in itself has admirable qualities. Its possible overdevelopment in colonial life became a serious stumbling block to the formation of a political union. The different shades of religious and political belief that characterized the colonies, their distrust and jealousy of each other, particularly in economic matters, threatened to make political union impossible; and for a time imperiled the colonies themselves. The long-drawn-out efforts to bring the colonies together and get them to work together even in the Revolutionary war prolonged the war and threatened its success. The long-drawn-out struggle to establish even a weak federation of states is a matter of history, as are the nerve-wracking months of bickering between states to effect the instrument finally accepted. Yet the Constitution as finally adopted, including the Bill of Rights, shows the marks of this spirit of individualism. The distrust of the "common man" by the Tory elements in the Constitutional Convention and the unwillingness of the colonies to sacrifice individual interests for the common good led to the setting up of an elaborate system of checks and balances against hasty mob action of the populace and delegation to the state of powers which the federal government has been slowly recovering over the years. To what extent the results of this individualism expressed in our political institutions have proved a blessing in disguise or a limitation upon the full achievement of democracy is not an issue here. The creation of our form of government is definitely a reflection of the democratic ideals of the colonists.

It should not be forgotten that those forces which developed the qualities of individual initiative and individual responsibility in the colonial situation also helped develop that sense of group cooperation that made possible the successful conclusion of the War of Independence and the formation of the

most democratic form of government at that time ever to exist. The Mayflower Pact was an expression of the sense of the Pilgrim fathers that "in union there is strength." The threatened dissensions within the group brought about a realization that cooperation was essential to survival. The early practice, particularly in the northern colonies, of living in common centers that the New Englanders called towns was in response to a sense of need for cooperative life among hostile Indians and the hostile forces of nature. The need for cooperation in colonial government was readily admitted, and its extension was appreciated as the life of the colonies became more complex. Such problems as the navigation of the Potomac River made Virginia and Maryland aware of the necessity of cooperation; numerous matters that concerned two or more of the colonies gradually overcame some of the individualism of each and brought about more cooperative effort. It was necessity that ultimately led to the final renunciation of colonial individualism and the cautious acceptance of cooperation through the formulation and ratification of the Constitution of the United States.

Another expression of the democratic idealism of the colonists is the unique provision for complete freedom of religious belief and expression. The original colonists, while in search of religious freedom for themselves and for those who believed as they did, were not all willing to concede that right to other groups with different beliefs. Virginia had the established Church of England as a tax-supported state church; other religions were illegal. Much the same was true of Puritan New England. William Penn, in Pennsylvania, emphasized the liberal, tolerant point of view. He encouraged sturdy, thrifty immigrants of virtually all faiths so long as they professed a belief in God. Toleration, as we know it today, was not a virtue of the early colonists, except perhaps Rhode Island.

The continued policy of encouraging emigration to the colonies led to the infiltration of people of different shades of religious belief into those colonies which originally were of one faith. This forced a relaxation of the laws of conformity until any attempt at enforcement was forgotten. Or, as in the case of Maryland, where Protestants were about to outlaw Catholics, the Assembly in 1649 passed what became known as

the Toleration Act. A *modus operandi* had been developed by the beginning of the eighteenth century that enabled those of divergent religious faiths to exist side by side even though not all advantages were given equally to all faiths.

This was the state of affairs when the Constitutional Convention assembled. One of the thorniest problems faced there was the matter of satisfying the rights of religious groups. The Constitution side-stepped the problem entirely, but it soon became evident that the Constitution could not be ratified by the several states until some provision was made under the new government to protect the religious freedom of the individual. So insistent and universal was this demand that the first amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the freedom of religious worship had to be added before the people were willing to accept the Constitution. It is significant that the one principal reason for the early colonists' coming to America was that to be forever protected in the first item of what has become known as the Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

It is impossible to study the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, without a consciousness that our government at almost every point reflects the basic aspirations and democratic ideals of the colonists. The venturesome spirit, the unbounded faith in man and his essential worth and destiny are reflected in this document, itself a testimony to that continuing spirit of adventure and faith in man individually and collectively to govern himself.

What is the meaning of democracy?

Mark Twain once said concerning the weather that everybody talks about it but nobody does anything about it. This might be roughly paraphrased in saying of democracy "everybody talks about it but no one attempts to define it." As a concept the term democracy is difficult to capture within the meaning of a sentence or two. It is not surprising, therefore, to read many extended discussions on democracy without any evident attempt to confine its somewhat elusive meaning to a few words.

It is much easier to present what is believed to be its essential characteristics. Nor should this failure to come to grips by a frontal attack upon the question be regarded seriously. There is much that is known about many things for which a precise definition cannot be given. Electricity, for example, can be described in its behavior and characterized in many ways. In fact, most of us have become so familiar with its manifestations and its characteristics that for ordinary purposes we feel confident we know what electricity is. Resort to a dictionary may elicit a definition something like this one taken from a popular small dictionary at hand: "Electricity—an imponderable and invisible agency, capable under different circumstances of producing light, heat, chemical decomposition, and other physical phenomena." Still, what is electricity? Quickly turning the pages of this dictionary we come to another definition of a term that is most important to all of us and no doubt has caused each of us much curious, if not troubled, reflection. Here by definition: "Life—the particular quality which marks the difference between an animal or plant and an inorganic body, or a dead organism." Then, as in the attempt to define "electricity," the dictionary goes on with an effort to clarify the meaning of life by numerous characterizations and descriptions of its manifestations. Yet, few, certainly, would admit that they did not have a working, meaningful understanding of these terms, though no precise definition. More than that, as we live and gather more experience, these terms take on added meaning. It is the same with respect to the meaning of democracy.

It may help us in our approach to the problems of education in relationship to *democracy*, if we think of democracy as, essentially, a way of life: it is a characteristic pattern of behavior in the total mode of living. Since we think of life as involving the whole being, it is necessary to include in this way of life not only the way one acts but the way one thinks and feels within a given situation as well. What one does is but the expression of one's thought and emotional reaction to a specific situation. Frequently someone's behavior is characterized as "that is just what you would expect of him" or "that is not typical of him." The first comment suggests that the behavior in the case of that individual conforms to a general pattern

recognized for him as his "way of life." For the other the behavior ascribed to him is at once recognized as not in harmony with the pattern of living associated with his "way of life" as this has been observed. We go further and characterize the thought and action of a given person according to patterns of conduct or behavior we think we clearly recognize and for which there is an accepted name or label. We say, "he is very democratic," or "he is very autocratic." There would be little doubt in the minds of most people as to the general behavior of the two persons thus characterized.

Groups, too, seem to develop a characteristic way of behaving which we identify with, or at least ascribe to, a certain group. We speak somewhat glibly of an "American Way." Without consideration of the merits involved in any proposed change, it has become the easy means of appealing to prejudice against change to characterize the new suggestion as not in harmony with the "American Way." Yet, our American people believe there is a characteristic way of thinking and behaving that is peculiarly and typically American. By this same token there is the inference that other nations have typical modes of thinking and behavior that sets them apart—a distinctive "way of life." When referring to some action of Great Britain, one is likely to comment "that is typically British." The Chinese and Japanese are supposed to have peculiar ways of doing things that are recognized as an oriental "way of life," which are often referred to as "that is typically oriental." The informed at once bring to focus a mental picture of the peculiar characteristics that are supposed to be typical of a small group, a nation, or race. These cartoon stereotypes are definitive of a characteristic popularly ascribed to the peoples concerned. Colonel Blimp typifies the slow, somewhat sluggish mentality of the British who somehow muddle through; Uncle Sam characterizes the easy-going, good-natured American, benevolence personified, naïve, an easy mark; the rough Bolshevik with smoking bomb symbolizes communistic Russia, rugged, ruthless, out to achieve by brute force. They may be wide of the mark of a true characterization, but cartoons are the attempts to symbolize popular notions of behavior characteristics of groups.

It is necessary, therefore, to recognize that different cultures have different "ways of life." It is equally important to recognize that superficial symbols are not always true characterizations of group behavior patterns. This is true of the democratic way of life. It may express itself differently in different cultures. We in America claim to be a democracy—that is, to follow the ideal of a democratic way of life. We do not have a king or designated ruler; we elect those who carry on the responsibility of government for us. Their actions are subject to review at stated times and their continuance in office is dependent upon the favor of the citizen voter. All recognize this as an important aspect of the American way. Some make this the *sine qua non* of the democratic way of life. There are those in England who insist they have a more truly democratic way of life than we do. They have a hereditary king, a life term House of Lords, and an elective House of Commons. The king is a figurehead as far as power is concerned; he serves simply as the symbol of the unity of the Empire. The House of Lords has very little power; the power of government actually resides in the House of Commons. The claim that England is more democratic than America springs from the fact that the government, that is, the cabinet and the members of the House of Commons, is subject at all times to popular opinion. At any time the government is not in majority favor a new election is called. In America our government, from President down through the Senate and House of Representatives, has stated terms of office and for practical purposes the government can be changed at stated intervals only. To that extent it is not as responsive to the popular will as is the government of England. Switzerland, without a king, is regarded as a democracy not too unlike America. Often the Scandinavian countries are spoken of as democratic in their ways of life in spite of the presence of kings. It may be necessary to recognize that the democratic way of life is a far more basic thing than the outward trappings of governmental forms, though government may be an important aspect of democracy and democratic living. It is possible for a genuine democratic way of life to exist in different cultures although outwardly its expression may take different forms from that of another culture.

It is important, too, to recognize that the concepts of democracy and its expression as a way of life may, and in fact does, change with time. It is a fundamental principle of learning that we "learn through experience." As we explore an idea and try to carry it out in practice, its meaning unfolds for us and we see new facets or implications not recognized before. Likewise, in the crucible of experience an idea or ideal may require change or adaptation from what was originally thought to be its characteristic. It is true of every great thinker and leader that he sees only in part the full implications of an idea or way of life he espouses. He, or his followers, may find that the expression of the idea or ideal changes with increased experience in the attempt to realize it.

As we try to catch the meaning of democracy for us in America this must be realized. Democracy is a dynamic concept and an evolving one. In its very essence democracy, as a way of life, is adventurous, it is experimental, and its genius lies in the fact that interpretation of the values it seeks are always subject to the majority judgment of the group. It has been the habit of patriotic orators to hark back to Washington, Jefferson, and others of that heroic group who literally forged for us the symbols of our democratic ideals. That is well. But it is not enough. We should understand that what they believed and attempted to express in a pattern of government had its roots in ideas which had been enlarged and refined in over a hundred and fifty years of varied efforts to approximate concretely an ideal way of living. It is even more important to look forward than backward if the inner deeper meaning of democracy for our time is to be understood.

The pilgrims in the Mayflower would, no doubt, have been horror stricken had it been possible for them to foresee the events of the years 1775 to 1791. The ideas and ideals which prompted these pilgrims to seek asylum in a new land did not imply for them the radical sequences that culminated in the Constitution with its novel ideas and pattern of national life. The early colonists for the most part saw only a chance to escape the immediate persecutions of tyrannical governments. It was freedom for themselves to worship, but for most of them this freedom did not embrace those whose religious ideas

were greatly at variance from their own. Vaguely, for most, the idea of political freedom meant only a degree of noninterference with their personal lives. Relief from political oppression did not carry with it the full-blown idea of complete self-government. That implication of their basic ideas and ideals required a century and a half to mature. The idea that "all men are created equal" most likely would have been emphatically rejected by the majority of the colonists before they left their homelands. These radical notions were implicit in the ideas and ideals which led to the search for a new life in a new world. They became explicit in the actual translation of those ideas and ideals in the practical processes of trying to realize them in the vicissitudes of living in the new world.

The concepts of democracy have been undergoing change since the formulation of our Constitution. The basic ideals and aspirations remain the same. This is as should be expected of the dynamic nature of ideas and ideals. We may well expect a similar development of the implications of these basic ideas and ideals as we, our children, and future generations, amid changing conditions and through experience, sense the fuller implications of these basic concepts of democracy for human well-being.

How can we distinguish between an authoritarian and a democratic type of society?

It is not as easy as many think to distinguish between authoritarianism and democracy. Witness the devices which authoritarianism has used to gain absolute power or maintain privilege by parading under the cloak of democracy. Democracy proclaims as its goal the common welfare of all. Notorious antidemocratic leaders of the past decade or two, such as the late Hitler of Germany, the late Mussolini of Italy, Franco of Spain, Stalin of Russia, and Perón of Argentina, to mention some of the better known, have been most vocal in assuring their people that they were working for the common good and were truly democratic. They have confused millions into support of their régimes because they were supposed to be democratic and solely interested in the welfare of all.

To assume these as synonymous terms—democracy and working for the good of all—is to be misled. It used to be an aphorism of political science that the best type of government was a benevolent autocracy. This idea was based upon the general notion that an unselfish ruler normally better educated than the rank and file of his subjects could provide a richer, fuller life for all than was possible under any other form of government. The joker, of course, is to insure the benevolent autocrat. History has recorded very, very few. Modern knowledge of the nature of man as a social being indicates clearly that man is happier and better satisfied, even with less, if he has had some part in the determination of his own way of life. Too, autocracy in its very nature breeds self-interest in the autocrat and indifference to the welfare of those under his rule.

Implicit in these facts, then, is the fact that autocracy and authoritarianism in government are for all practical purpose synonymous terms, and irreconcilable with the concept of democracy. An authoritarian type of society can always be distinguished from a democratic society at the crucial point of where final authority rests. This distinction should never be confused with the immediate quality of life held out under authoritarian promise. *A government is authoritarian when its power and its acts are not at all times subject to review, rejection, or modification by those affected thereby.*

There are other distinguishing characteristics of an authoritarian type of society versus a democratic one. Political democracy may exist and yet the real essence of democracy may be absent. For many years, the early Massachusetts colony enjoyed practical political democracy in the government of domestic affairs. The majority ruled on all local issues. The majority, however, thought of democracy only in terms of their major interests. They sought the right to freedom of religious belief, but it never seemed to occur to them that the same principles were involved for the other colonists in their midst who did not maintain quite the same pattern of doctrinal differences. They imposed rigorously, at first, their form of religion upon all minority groups even more uncompromisingly than did the mother country. England, with

a form of political democracy, until recently at least has been authoritarian in its social and economic practices. It has maintained an old social caste system that recognized those who "belonged" and those who did not. Special privileges, social and economic, were part of their heritage. They have been worshippers of a tradition which effectively served to perpetuate the privileged class.

The spirit of authoritarianism in the socio-economic realm is the unquestioned maintenance of old social beliefs, customs, *mores*—the glorification of the old and opposition to the new, the practical *status quo* in thought and behavior. It is synonymous with the kinds of blind unthinking reaction that decreed for Socrates, "that disturber of the morals of the youth of Athens," the cup of hemlock. *Democracy, on the other hand, embodies the spirit of adventure, the quest for new ideas, the modification of old ones, the fearless yet critical search for new ways of adjustment to changing conditions, with one ultimate purpose in mind only, the advancement of the happiness and well-being of all, with special privilege to none.*

What are the characteristics of our ideal of a democratic society in America?

The answer to this question must give tribute to the ideals and experiences of our forefathers since colonial days. It must take into account the ideas of contemporary leaders of democratic thought in America.

Two important documents in American history provide the springboard for any consideration of this question. The general ideas and ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution voice the common aspirations of all men for a democratic society in America. Those lofty words from the Declaration of Independence are familiar to all:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Beside these historic words should be placed the equally significant words of the Preamble to the Constitution:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Not only the basic ideals that form the goals of the democratic society in America to which men aspire are clearly recorded here, but the equally basic method of attainment to these ideals is unequivocally given.

Three-quarters of a century after the Declaration of 1776 had been crystallized into political form, Lincoln, in his memorable Gettysburg Address, characterized for all the basic ideal and method of political democracy in America in those now famous words: "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." This is a great political ideal of America which we have not attained. We are only slowly recognizing the fuller implications of this political ideal, and translating these newer understandings into governmental expression. It required almost a hundred years before one large section of the population was legally admitted to the full rights of political citizenship. In many states the political rights guaranteed by the Constitution to colored citizens still are denied. An awakened public conscience in many of these states is slowly bringing practice into harmony with the ideal as well as the legal provision of the Constitution. Throughout most of our history the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution has been thwarted in part by a common practice among the states to require payment of a "poll tax" as a prerequisite to the right to vote. This is a hangover from the older cultures which placed property rights above human rights. This old idea our forefathers clearly and uniquely rejected in setting up our form of democratic government. Most states have removed such limitations upon the freedom to vote. The persistence of the old property right idea is still to be found in a number of states which require one to possess property to vote in school elections. This undemocratic practice is

giving way as people realize that no act which affects education or any other aspect of living that requires group judgment should be passed upon by a few under the claim that because they own property it confers special political privileges upon them.

The growth of the democratic ideal in its application to government possibly is best illustrated in the nineteenth amendment. Certainly, few, if any, of those who so well expressed the democratic idealism of government in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution thought woman suffrage a natural inescapable corollary of the phrases "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" or "we the people." Yet, few today would be hardy enough to deny that the franchise to women was an "inalienable right" of such a political ideal. At this writing one state has projected the implication of political democracy even further. With the impetus of the second world war the idea that if the state regarded youths of eighteen sufficiently adult to assume by compulsion the primary burden of the nation's defense at the possible cost of their lives, they were also sufficiently mature and of right entitled to the suffrage privilege. Ought they not of democratic right be privileged to pass judgment upon the merits of the causes for which they were asked to risk their lives? As a result of this one state has lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen, and the issue is now a live one in many states. The pertinent question is asked: "What is sacred about the twenty-first birthday?" It is pointed out that youth of eighteen today have achieved a higher level of schooling than the adult population of forty and over; that they are far, far ahead of the adult level of schooling of those who composed the original colonies that formed these United States of America. Clearly, the democratic ideal as it is being translated into political practice is slowly but surely bringing to the American citizen the reality of equal rights. It implies a growing appreciation of political responsibility in a democratic society.

Not only are we clarifying what we believe political democracy in America should be, we, too, are giving clearer meaning to what we believe is the democratic way of life in the larger spheres of socio-economic relationships. The Declaration of

Independence and the preamble to the Constitution look upon political democracy largely as a means to an end. The real essence of democracy for America is assumed to lie in the realm of socio-economic life. These are expressed in broad categories as "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" plus the notion of the equality of man.

It is important to catch something of the spirit of the people who tried to give expression to these ideals as a way of life. Out of a background of oppression and depreciation of the person, these people had been struggling toward a new freedom with an emphasis upon the importance of the individual and equality between men in the economic-social as well as political scheme of things. How fundamental and pervasive this idea of equality was and the influence it had upon the character of the American people before 1850 is clearly revealed in the impression made upon that great French student of American life, de Tocqueville. He came to America in 1831 somewhat skeptical of this new venture in government: he returned to France enthusiastic over what he saw. He comments thus:

Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the general equality of condition. I readily discovered the prodigious influence which this primary fact exercises on the whole course of society, by giving a certain direction to public opinion, and a certain tenour to the laws; by imparting new maxims to the governing powers, and peculiar habits to the governed.

I speedily perceived that the influence of this fact extends far beyond the political character and the laws of the country, and that it has no less empire over civil society than over the government; it creates opinions, engenders sentiments, suggests the ordinary practices of life, and modifies whatever it does not produce. The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that the equality of conditions is the fundamental fact from which all others seemed to be derived, and the central point at which all my observations constantly terminated.^a

It was but natural, therefore, for our early Americans to emphasize, even possibly to exaggerate, the importance of the

^ade Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I. London: Saunders and Otley, 1835, Introduction, pp. XIII-XIV.

individual. The democratic way of life meant freedom, liberty, personal rights with a minimum of the restrictions felt in the old world. The Bill of Rights, as the first ten amendments to the Constitution are called, is aptly characterized in its name; the burden of emphasis is the protection of the rights of the individual against the infringement of others, particularly the state. That was almost an obsession of the colonists; it threatened the adoption of a Constitution and has been a tender spot throughout our history—even to the popularization of the "Four Freedoms" by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. The expression of democracy for our forefathers, then, was characterized by the setting up of safeguards for the greater freedom of the individual. The early American maintained the right to live his own life with a minimum of interference. He wanted to make money with little or no restriction as to how much he made, how he made it, or what he did with it. He demanded, also, that he be recognized on a par with any other citizen with equal rights. Even when he thought of his own colony he was jealous of its independence of all others.

This idea has continued to permeate the thinking of the rank and file of American citizens. How individualistic and inadequate the concept of democracy in America was prior to the second world war is revealed in a study made of the opinions of over 2,000 high school students representing 40 different high schools. These students were asked to indicate what democracy meant to them. Sixty-three per cent defined democracy in terms of rights and privileges only. A minority of 27 per cent included both privileges and responsibilities as co-parts of the democratic ideal.* The overemphasis upon rights is not alone a weakness of ours. The late H. G. Wells before his death publicized what he called the "Ten Rights of Man." Mahatma Gandhi, the great Indian leader, immediately cabled Mr. Wells it was time that we began to think about responsibilities as well as rights or soon there would be no right left for anyone.

As time has passed, the emphasis upon freedom, liberty, and rights as an expression of extreme individualism has given way

*Education Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 1940, p. 47.

to a greater recognition of the place of individual and group responsibility in our American conception of the democratic way of life. Even the interpretation of rights and liberty has been tempered with a marked degree of group responsibility by the time the colonies were willing to accept the Constitution.

The growing complexity of life has increased the sense of responsibility as a part of democratic living. The sixteenth amendment, which gives the Congress the right to levy income taxes, is a radical invasion of personal rights as these were conceived one hundred years ago. The acceptance of more and more federal control and responsibility for aspects of life formerly the responsibility of the states, the adoption within recent years of social security legislation, compulsory pension systems, minimum working hours laws, child employment legislation, elaborate fire and health restrictions, old age assistance, and numerous other types of social welfare laws is a clear recognition that democracy in America is being thought of as a way of life that stresses the welfare of the individual within the group as well as the individual as an individual. The deepening sense of cooperation and interdependence is further evidenced by the rapid extension of the cooperative movement among farmers and consumers, the mushroom growth of group medical insurance plans plus strong mounting agitation for some form of socialized medicine on a national scale, the spread of unionism among laborers and others as a form of group life, and similar demonstrations of cooperative activity. The furtherance in recent years of the ideal of the equality of all and the advantage of special privileges to none is one of the most revolutionary and fundamental social developments that has taken place. For the past several decades gift and inheritance taxes have been used as devices to create greater equality between the children of the rich and the poor, as well as to raise money for governmental purposes. The heavy graduated income taxes, corporation taxes, luxury taxes, and such serve to equalize the tax burden in relation to the ability to pay and narrows the gap between individuals in the economic sphere. The currents of democratic idealism have frowned even on too great a disparity between individual incomes. Advocacy of a limitation upon incomes is becoming more widespread. The late

President Roosevelt boldly proposed \$25,000 as the maximum ceiling on individual incomes. These and myriad other examples point unmistakably to a growing conviction that the democratic idealism expressed by the founding fathers is gathering new and enriched meaning with time and changing conditions for a way of life in an evolving American democratic society.

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Questions and Problems

1. Do the reasons listed in this chapter for the colonists' coming to America agree with the beliefs you can recall having had as a student in high school? Try to account for any changes in your point of view.

2. Can you cite examples to show whether or not the social caste system of Europe was carried over into the social life of any of the thirteen colonies? Has it influenced American education? Is there any evidence of such influence in American education today?
3. Write out five or more political implications of the religious freedom motive. What implications do your statements have for public education in the United States?
4. Draw as many comparisons as you can between colonial methods of punishing criminals and methods of punishment that have been used in the schools. Has greater progress been made in the "disciplining" of criminals or of students? State your reasons or evidence.
5. Would you define "democracy" as a process, an ideal, a method of procedure, a body of doctrines, a system of beliefs, or a way of life? Give reasons for your choice of definitions.
6. Have the American people accepted the idea that democracy is fundamentally experimental in nature? State your ideas and follow through to the implications of your statements for education.
7. What are the differences between an authoritarian and a democratic institution? Can an institution be a mixture of both, or must it be all one or the other?
8. State your agreements or disagreements with the author's definition of an "authoritarian government." Apply the definition to institutions which are now governmental.
9. Would you favor lowering the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen? Would doing this place further obligations upon public schools?
10. Discuss any differences you think exist between authoritarian and democratic conceptions of "rights" and "responsibilities."
11. Should individual security be provided by the government, by free enterprise, or by cooperative organizations? In any case, what are the effects upon the responsibility of the school?
12. Cite instances to show how our conceptions of democracy are growing and changing today.
13. State your criteria for determining whether a political, social, or economic movement today is "reactionary," "liberal," or "radical."
14. List several movements or developments in modern education and justify your application of the terms "reactionary," "liberal," or "radical" to them.
15. Discuss this idea "Truth is everywhere the same, and therefore education should be everywhere the same."

CHAPTER IX

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS FACING YOUTH IN OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY?

The very nature of a democratic society has a marked influence upon the youth of the community. The fact that the character of such a society is determined by the will of its members must affect profoundly the outlook, the thinking, and the behavior of all those who compose it. It is one thing to confront life with a consciousness that the major decisions concerning that life have been made or will be made by others, that the principle concern of the individual is to try as best he may to fit himself into the pattern of life already set or as it may be modified by the caprice of another; a vastly different atmosphere and outlook on life are created with the recognition that the society is and will be determined by all those who are a part of that society. Added to this is the fact that the genius of a democracy rests as well upon the spirit of a "divine discontent" with things as they are and a spirit of adventure and quest for ways and means to give greater reality to the ideals of liberty, justice, equality, and human well-being inherent in the concept of democracy.

Against a background of such a dynamic concept of a democratic community modern youth must be further challenged to the realization that his world is a world of rapid and accelerated change. It has been asserted that we have made more change in the past fifty years than in the previous three hundred years and that we have changed more in the last three hundred years than in all recorded time. One writer has put the matter of accelerated change even more strongly: "Then suddenly, with the utilization of steam and electricity, more

changes were made in technology in two generations than in all the thousands of years of previous human history put together."¹ It is certain that youth today, particularly in America, largely unhampered by age-old customs and traditions, faces a world of unprecedented upheaval.

How do changes in communication and transportation affect the world of the adolescent?

The writer, with millions of others of his generation, recalls vividly when all telephones in the nation were silent for two minutes while funeral services were in progress for the late Alexander Bell, the inventor of the telephone. To the youth of today this must seem fantastic. The telephone is so vital a part of our lives it is all but taken for granted that it has always been a part of our existence. Yet much of grandfather's life was spent without the convenience of the telephone. It is a little more than a century since the first brief message "What has God Wrought?" was flashed over the telegraph wires between the neighboring cities of Washington and Baltimore. Today almost every child is familiar with the rows of poles and glistening strands of telegraph wire to be seen along every railroad, tying America together with a network of telegraph lines. Now thousands of miles of cables traverse the ocean beds to connect every part of the world by transoceanic telegraph.

Although the radio came into existence shortly after 1900, commercial broadcasting did not begin until 1920, and radio reception for effective ordinary household usage was delayed another decade. Commercial broadcasting distinctly belongs to the present younger generation. Youth is fully familiar with the use of the two-way radio particularly as it is used in police cars and as it was used in the second world war. The possibilities of two-way radio for family or individual pocket use have been dramatized in current commercial advertisements and in the comic strips. Its general usage is the promise of tomorrow. N.B.C., in 1939, began regular public television service in New York City; now available in most of our large cities. Television

¹Cousins, Norman, *Modern Man Is Obsolete*. New York: The Viking Press, 1945, p. 16.

is still in its infancy but its possibilities are almost unlimited in connection with the development of the radio. In the years immediately ahead the rapid development of television for general use can be anticipated.

The significance of the motion picture cannot be overlooked in any consideration of the modern evolution, or revolution, in modes of communication. The old Nickelodeon which came into existence at about the turn of the century is all but unknown to those on the sunny side of forty. Even the silent films are becoming but dim memories to our contemporary younger adults. The transformation of the "movie" has been almost as phenomenal as has been the development of the radio. By 1930 the "silent" movie had been transformed into the "talkie." It has had a tremendous influence upon the motion picture public; it is estimated that the patronage of the sound motion picture industry in the United States today represents over 100,000,000 paid admissions weekly.

The newspaper and the magazine have been with us since colonial days, but they are radically changed in character and scope. The older newspapers were local in character, limited in circulation, serious in purpose, and restricted in the nature of the ideas that found a place in their columns. Ideas too much at variance with the accepted *mores* of the community seldom found a place in the newspapers. Only a small portion of the public could read, so that the stimulus that might have come through a widespread reading of the paper was limited. Magazines, for the most part, strove to be decorous, literary, and serious. They were adult in interest and not likely to appeal to youth.

Tremendous changes have taken place over the years. Reading competency in America has become almost universal. Newspapers have become cheap enough to be purchased by all. Few homes now but have one or more newspapers. The weekly newspaper has given way to the daily paper in the cities, and in most of the rural communities the daily rural free delivery service of the United States mail, developed rapidly since its inauguration in 1896, brings to the farmer's door the daily paper from the city as well as the small town or county weekly newspaper. These daily papers are large metropolitan news-

papers, often representing a chain of newspapers owned and published by a group of owners or by an individual. They have become essentially commercial in interest, sensational in the items featured, largely non-moral in their attitudes toward the news they print, and, through their size and coverage, of necessity largely indifferent to local community conventions and *mores*. They bring to those who read them a distinctly sophisticated approach to every phase of human life. The same may be said for the magazines. They are plentiful and they are relatively inexpensive. They range from the highly literary, through the semipopular but serious magazine, to the cheap, sensational, gaudy sex and crime thriller familiarly known as the pulp magazines. As one scans the magazine racks at any newsstand or corner drugstore the impression is quickly gained that the pulp thrillers are the more numerous, and priced to attract the limited purchasing ability of youth.

These are the spectacular new forms of communication that have come into existence or extensive use within our generation. They present both a promise and a threat to the world of tomorrow: they present a threat to the extent that they become the media to undermine seriously the existing customs, conventions, and *mores*, which have provided cohesion for the community, a sense of solidarity to the group, and a way of life for its members. To discover that people in other cultures or environments hold contrary views to those taught in a given community or to discover that behavior condemned in one community is apparently acceptable in another often leads to confusion and doubt about the standards heretofore implicitly followed. Often these cut deeply at the roots of the life values that youths have been taught to accept without question. The danger lies, further, in the possibilities that these new media of communication may estrange youths from the accepted standards of life and values for living cherished by their parents and the community, and at the same time not provide an improved set of *mores* and standards of values by which to give purpose and direction to their lives. To have new ways of thinking that definitely challenge the old come under the guise of respectability through these media of communication may lead to hasty rejection of the old without a careful evaluation

of the desirable or undesirable consequences of such a decision. It may easily result in a cynical *laissez-faire* attitude toward the major issues which make for personal success or national well-being. A person with this attitude may become a liability instead of an asset to himself and the community.

New ideas are potentially dangerous. It is a truism, of course, that thinking is disturbing. It is equally true that the absence of thinking means intellectual and social stagnation. The promise of these new means of communication is that they present a medium of challenge to existing thinking, the natural provocation to new ideas and to possible improvement in our modes of living. Only as we are willing to risk the challenge to new ideas is progress possible. It is in the clash of ideas and the critical examination of differing practices that new truth is discovered and improved ways of doing things are found. Wisdom is not the special possession of any one community, nation, or culture. This observation seems almost puerile except that so much provincialism still exists that the obvious is not yet appreciated in many places.

Through our modern means of communication it is easier than ever before to share the thinking of other communities and peoples, to appreciate their art and their music and the peculiar virtues that reside in their ways of living. We are forced to re-evaluate our thinking and our modes of life as we almost unavoidably come in contact with others. The promise is seen also in the opportunity of youth to enrich the quality of American living by sifting the best from the experiences of others and sloughing off practices and assumed values of our own that are recognized as no longer tenable in a changing world.

More than that, it is highly important that youths should feel the stimulus that comes through these new forms of communication. In a world of such unprecedented change it is essential that thinking should be stimulated. It is necessary for the young boy, or girl, to be constantly on the alert to sense the nature of changes and the satisfactory ways that may be utilized to adjust properly to new conditions. It is equally important that he should, as a democratic citizen, know how to use these agencies as a means of stimulating the thought of

others in the directions of desirable change and more satisfactory life-enriching adjustments in our democratic way of living.

In any appraisal of the significance for modern youths of changes in communication, those media of communication which come under the head of transportation cannot be ignored. One important function of transportation is to facilitate the means of communication. Highways have always been essential to communication. Until very recent times, they were slow in changing even though they served as the main means of communication. For example, in 4 B.C. Caesar, then in England, desired to get a message back to Rome as quickly as possible. It required a messenger fourteen days to deliver the message. In 1860 Lord Poole, then ambassador to Italy, received an urgent call to return to London in all haste. It required exactly fourteen days to make the trip. Ezra Meeker, near the middle of the last century, left Ohio in an ox cart to go over the Old Oregon Trail to make his home in the Oregon country. It took him five months, traveling at the rate of two miles per hour, to make the tedious trip. In 1924, as an old man at the age of ninety, he traversed that same route in a modern airplane in a few hours. Had he chosen the modern railroad which parallels much of the Old Oregon Trail, he could have made the trip in less than three days, at the same time enjoying a luxury and comfort probably far beyond his wildest imagination in the days of his pioneer travel. Or had he chosen to make the trip by automobile he would have found the Old Oregon Trail a ribbon of concrete over which his car could have sped along in safety and comfort for the passenger. Such has been the rapid transformation in transportation within a little more than one generation.

The invention of the steam engine radically revolutionized water and land transportation. The first steam-propelled vessel crossed the Atlantic in 1827, and in 1831 the first steam-drawn train in America traveled from Albany to Schenectady, New York. Instead of the months of uncomfortable travel required by the Pilgrims to cross the Atlantic, consider the sumptuous luxury of our modern liners which cross the ocean in a relatively few hours. So accustomed have we become to the net-

work of nearly 240,000 miles of railroad lines crisscrossing the United States, with the speed and luxury of the modern streamline trains, it is hard to realize that less than a century ago no transcontinental railways existed. No less does the present generation take for granted the modern gas-driven automobile. Yet, the older generation spans the period of its invention and development. Many remember vividly the early mechanically troublesome car and the extremely poor, rough, rutted, and muddy highways. In 1900 there were less than 145 miles of hard-surfaced road in the United States. By 1940 over 3,000,000 miles of hard-surfaced road made automobile travel a pleasure and a matter of speedy transportation. Super-highways designed for speed, safety, and scenic beauty are the order of the day.

It should be remembered that in 1900 only 4,000 automobiles were produced to traverse the then primitive highways of America. In 1941, alone, the year of maximum production before the second world war, almost five million automobiles and motor trucks were produced. The registration of automobiles in that year totaled 32,557,954 for America, out of a total of 45 million that existed for the entire world.

Most parents of the youth of today hold in vivid memory a late May day in 1927 when word was flashed back from Paris to an anxious American public that Charles Lindbergh had landed in France and thereby became the first to fly across the Atlantic. Today, as these lines are chronicled just twenty-one years since Lindbergh's famous transoceanic flight, spacious air liners shuttle passengers across the Atlantic in less than one-fifth the time required for that first successful flight. NWA, TWA, or WCA symbolize for youth the network of passenger planes that connect by air routes the major cities of the United States, as do the symbols Clipper, BOAC, or TACA suggest some of the present air routes of the world. Any spot in America is now but a few hours from the farthest point on our planet. Planes are now available that are capable of a non-stop round-trip flight to any place on our globe. These are days of plans for stratosphere flying. All this, too, within this generation.

The profound effects of these changes in direct communica-

tion and transportation that have taken place largely within a generation can scarcely be overestimated. The effect upon the world of the modern adolescent is nothing short of revolutionary and is greatly accentuated for youth in a democratic society. It is possible and necessary only to point out a few of the major social implications of these changes for America and the world.

Some fifteen years ago when radio broadcasting was still in its infancy, a list of one hundred and fifty social effects of three of the principal recent forms of communication was catalogued. Today this list could be augmented greatly and the significance of many on the list would certainly take on new meaning.²

Effects of the Radio Telegraph and Telephone and of Radio Broadcasting

I. ON UNIFORMITY AND DIFFUSION

1. Homogeneity of peoples increased because of like stimuli.
2. Regional differences in cultures become less pronounced.
3. The penetration of the musical and artistic city culture into villages and country.
4. Ethical standards of the city made more familiar to the country.
5. Distinctions between social classes and economic groups lessened.
6. Isolated regions are brought in contact with world events.
7. Illiterates find a new world opened to them.
8. Restriction of variation through censorship resulting in less experiment and more uniformity.
9. Favoring of the widely spread languages.
10. Standardization of diction and discouragement of dialects.
11. Aids in correct pronunciation, especially of foreign words.
12. Cultural diffusion among nations, as of United States in Canada and *vice versa*.

II. ON RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

13. Another agency for recreation and entertainment.
14. The enjoyment of music popularized greatly.
15. Much more frequent opportunity for good music in rural areas.

²By permission from Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Vol. I, Chap. III, "The Influence of Invention and Discovery," New York: Copyrighted, 1933, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., pp. 153-156.

16. The manufacture of better phonograph music records encouraged.
17. The contralto favored over sopranos through better transmission.
18. Radio amplification lessens need for loud concert voices.
19. Establishment of the melodramatic playlet with few characters and contrasted voices.
20. Revival of old songs, at least for a time.
21. Greater appreciation of the international nature of music.
22. Entertainment for invalids, blind, partly deaf, frontiersmen, etc.
23. With growth of reformatory idea, more prison installations.
24. Interest in sports increased, it is generally admitted.
25. Slight stimulation to dancing at small gatherings.
26. Entertainment on trains, ships, and automobiles.

III. ON TRANSPORTATION

27. Radio beams, enabling aviators to remain on course.
28. Directional receivers guide to port with speed and safety.
29. Aid furnished to ships in distress at sea.
30. Greater safety to airplanes in landing. Radio system also devised now for blind landing.
31. Chronometers are checked by time signals.
32. Broadcast of special weather reports aids the aviator.
33. Brokerage offices on ships made possible.
34. Receipt of communications en route by air passengers.
35. Communication between airplanes and ships.
36. Ships directed for better handling of cargoes.

IV. ON EDUCATION

37. Colleges broadcast classroom lectures.
38. Broadcasting has aided adult education.
39. Used effectively in giving language instruction.
40. Purchasing of textbooks increased slightly, it is reported.
41. Grammar school instruction aided by broadcasting.
42. Health movement encouraged through broadcast of health talks.
43. Current events discussion broadcast.
44. International relations another important topic discussed, with some social effects, no doubt.
45. Broadcasting has been used to further some reform movements.
46. The government broadcasts frequently on work of departments.
47. Many talks to mothers on domestic science, child care, etc.
48. Discussion of books aids selection and stimulates readers.
49. The relationship of university and community made close.
50. Lessens gap schooling may make between parents and children.

51. Provision of discussion topics for women's clubs.
52. New pedagogical methods, i.e., as to lectures and personality.
53. Greater knowledge of electricity spread.
54. The creation of a class of radio amateurs.

V. ON THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

55. Wider education of farmers on agricultural methods.
56. Prevention of loss in crops by broadcasting weather reports.
57. Education of farmers on the treatment of parasites.
58. Market reports of produce permitting better sales.
59. Important telephone messages between continents.
60. Small newspapers, an experiment yet, by facsimile transmission.
61. News to newspapers by radio broadcasting.
62. News dissemination in lieu of newspapers, as in British strike.
63. Transmission of photographic likenesses, letters, etc., especially overseas when wire is not yet applicable.
64. Quicker detection of crime and criminals, through police automobile patrols equipped with radio.

VI. ON RELIGION

65. Discouragement, it is said, of preachers of lesser abilities.
66. The urban type of sermon disseminated to rural regions.
67. Services possible where minister cannot be supported.
68. Invalids and others unable to attend church enabled to hear religious service.
69. Churches that broadcast are said to have increased attendance.
70. Letter-writing to radio religious speakers gives new opportunity for confession and confidence.

VII. ON INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

71. In industry radio sales led to decline in phonograph business.
72. Better phonograph recording and reproducing now used.
73. Lowering of cable rates followed radio telegraph development.
74. Point-to-point communication in areas without wires.
75. The business of the lyceum bureaus, etc. greatly suffered.
76. Some artists who broadcast demanded for personal appearance in concerts.
77. The market for the piano declined. Radio may be a factor.
78. Equipment cost of hotel and restaurant increased.
79. A new form of advertising has been created.
80. New problems of advertising ethics, as to comments on competing products.

81. An important factor in creating a market for new commodities.
82. Newspaper advertising affected.
83. Led to creation of new magazines.
84. An increase in the consumption of electricity.
85. Provision of employment of 200,000 persons.
86. Some decreased employment in phonograph and other industries.
87. Aid to power and traction companies in discovering leaks, through the assistance of radio listeners.
88. Business of contributing industries increased.

VIII. ON OCCUPATIONS

89. Music sales and possibly song writing has declined. Studies indicate that broadcasting is a factor.
90. A new provision for dancing instruction.
91. A new employment for singers, vaudeville artists, etc.
92. New occupations: announcer, engineer, advertising salesman.
93. Dance orchestras perhaps not increased but given prominence.

IX. ON GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

94. In government a new regulatory function necessitated.
95. Censorship problem raised because of charges of swearing, etc.
96. Legal questions raised beginning with the right to the air.
97. New specialization in law; four air-law journals existing.
98. New problems of copyright have arisen.
99. New associations created, some active in lobbying.
100. Executive pressure on legislatures through radio appeals.
101. A democratizing agency, since political programs and speeches are designed to reach wide varieties of persons at one time.
102. Public sentiment aroused in cases of emergencies like drought.
103. International affairs affected because of multiplication of national contacts.
104. Rumors and propaganda on nationalism have been spread.
105. Limits in broadcasting bands foster international arrangements.
106. Communication facilitated among belligerents in warfare.
107. Procedures of the nominating conventions altered somewhat.
108. Constituencies are kept in touch with nominating conventions.
109. Political campaigners reach large audiences.
110. The importance of the political mass meeting diminished.
111. Presidential "barnstorming" and front porch campaign changed.
112. Nature of campaign costs affected.
113. Appeal to prejudice of local group lessened.
114. Campaign speeches tend to be more logical and cogent.

- 115. An aid in raising campaign funds.
- 116. Campaign speaking by a number of party leaders lessened.
- 117. Campaign promises over radio said to be more binding.
- 118. High government officers who broadcast are said to appear to public less distant and more familiar.

X. ON OTHER INVENTIONS

- 119. Development stimulated in other fields, as in military aviation.
- 120. The vacuum tube, a radio invention, is used in many fields, as for leveling elevators, automatic train controls, converting electric currents, applying the photo-electric cell, A new science is being developed on the vacuum tube.
- 121. Television was stimulated by the radio.
- 122. Developments in use of phonograph stimulated by radio.
- 123. Amplifiers for radio and talking pictures improved.
- 124. The teletype is reported to have been adapted to radio.
- 125. Geophysical prospecting aided by the radio.
- 126. Sterilization of milk by short waves, milk keeping fresh a week.
- 127. Exterminating of insects by short waves reported on small scale.
- 128. Body temperature raised to destroy local or general infections.
- 129. The condenser with radio tubes used variously in industry for controlling thickness of sheet material, warnings of dangerous gas, etc.
- 130. Watches and clocks set automatically by radio.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

- 131. Morning exercises encouraged a bit.
- 132. The noise problem of loud speakers has caused some regulation.
- 133. A new type of public appearance for amateurs.
- 134. Some women's clubs are said to find the radio a competitor.
- 135. Late hours have been ruled against in dormitories and homes.
- 136. Rumor as a mode of expression perhaps hampered in broadcasting.
- 137. Growth of suburbs perhaps encouraged a little.
- 138. Letter writing to celebrities a widespread practice.
- 139. Irritation against possible excesses of advertising.
- 140. Development of fads of numerology and astrology encouraged.
- 141. Automobiles with sets have been prohibited for safety in some places.
- 142. Additions to language as "A baby broadcasting all night."
- 143. Aids in locating persons wanted.
- 144. Wider celebration of anniversaries aids nationalism.
- 145. Used in submarine detection.
- 146. Weather broadcasts used in planning family recreation.

- 147. Fuller enjoyment of gala events.
- 148. Home duties and isolation more pleasant.
- 149. Widens gap between the famous and the near-famous.
- 150. Creative outlet for youth in building sets.

A momentary consideration of the social effects of the automobile and the airplane should make abundantly clear the nature of the problems youths of today and tomorrow must face as they try to make the democratic way of life contribute to the well-being of all. As this is penned the morning paper carries an account of an automobile accident in which four lost their lives, a woman was sent to the hospital with an expectation of three to four months for possible recovery, two children were orphaned, and three were left fatherless. According to the account, a sixteen-year-old boy speeding at sixty miles an hour, himself fatally injured, ran head on into the car containing a middle-aged and younger couple. The police charged reckless driving. On the same page are the stories of a man killed as his car skidded and rolled down an embankment as he tried to pass a truck, and four others injured as two cars collided while they tried to pass each other. Our interest in these accidents, so typical of others reported almost regularly in the press and over the radio, is only to point a civic problem peculiar to the newer forms of transportation today. In the days of old Dobbin such accidents were virtually unknown. The driver of one horse was not a potential danger to the driver of another. One driver might be inebriated, drowsy, or even fall asleep. The chances were the horses would keep to their side of the road; but if not, the speed of travel would render the impact relatively harmless. Not so with modern transportation. The driver of an automobile today is a potential liability to himself and all others on the highway, be they drivers of similar cars or simply pedestrians. New rules of the road are necessary for automobile travel unthought of in the horse and buggy days. New restrictions upon the rights of the driver are implicit in the requirement in most states that drivers of cars must pass certain minimum standards before they are granted a driver's license. Under what physical conditions may there be moral if not legal limitations upon one's right to drive a car, such as age and slow reaction time, poor eyesight, hearing,

temporary fatigue, or the influence of alcohol or narcotics is debated. What financial obligation should the driver of a car have to protect adequately the person and property of others before he is permitted a driver's license? What obligations should each driver have to insure the mechanical safety of the car he drives, such as the possession of good brakes, proper lights, good tires, and other safety features? How much personal liberty does one have to do as he pleases in this modern era of fast mechanical locomotion compared with the rights assumed in grandfather's day?

There are grave social problems of other kinds which stem from the new modes of transportation. The isolated farm community and the small rural village of yesterday are now but shells of their former selves. A generation ago the major social life of the people of these communities centered in the activities that took place within the physical confines of these communities. Generally life centered about the school building that served the children, the church that ministered to the social as well as the spiritual needs of the families, or occasionally a grange or community hall provided the focus of group life. Today all has changed. Dotted here and there are the vacant school houses, the empty churches, and the small villages once thriving and prosperous and now largely abandoned, boarded up, and in various stages of decay, weeds growing in once well-kept yards where unpainted houses with broken windows bear silent testimony to desertion.

What has happened? With the coming of automobiles and paved or improved roads the farmer has found it more advantageous to transact business in the larger commercial centers. Now in thirty minutes, or thereabouts, he can take his family to a larger place to enjoy the "movie" with its better pictures and more comfortable appointments or the myriad of other forms of social entertainment denied those who are restricted to the farm or small village community. The larger church, with its more churchly atmosphere, better music, more stimulating service, and larger congregation is as available as the less inviting church of the open country. Besides, the people of the larger center have become well known and a feeling of "belongingness" awakens feelings of loyalty to the larger place.

Simultaneously, the new highways have led to the closing of smaller schools and the merging of school districts into larger ones, centered frequently in these larger towns with so many other advantages. Private cars and school buses transport the children to these larger centers. These are additional factors in the natural disintegration of the smaller American rural and village community.

The use of the modern means of transportation has greatly facilitated the marketing of perishable products. The vegetable, fruit, and berry producing areas can now supply their perishable products by refrigerated express trains, trucks, and airplanes to every part of the United States, even to the far corners of the world. A recent feature story of the Epicure's Dinner served in New York City called attention to a unique part of the dinner, the serving of "Partridges from France" flown from France especially for the dinner.* The isolated communities of the Middle West and the northern states, through refrigerated trucking service and, to an increasing extent, through air service, can now enjoy during the winter months the luxury of fresh vegetables and fruits, until recently restricted to the areas where they were grown or, at best, to the large commercial centers. This means, in turn, the use of lands for truck gardening heretofore commercially prohibited by their remoteness from large population centers.

A number of years ago, before the airplane was more than an experimental toy, the annual "scandal number" of a small college paper assumed conditions as they might exist in 1960. Headlined on the front page was the news item that two of the popular students of the college had been brought before the Dean of Men and Dean of Women for disciplinary action. Their offense had been that they had flown a plane to Chicago, a distance of several hundred miles, for the weekend and had returned just in time for early Monday morning classes. The problem of social controls in the age of automobiles and airplanes could scarcely be better highlighted. In the days of the horse and buggy it was difficult to get away from the general, or even unintentional, surveillance of the community. People, horses, and carriages were known to all for a radius of many

*"Epicure's Dinner," *Life*, 21, 26-27, December 23, 1946.

miles. Anonymity was not easily achieved under these circumstances. Consequently, those who respected the good opinion of the neighborhood were observant of the community *mores*. The ability to escape local community influence and be among strangers or in a strange environment within a few minutes or hours of travel has removed this restriction for those who do not *per se* accept the conventions of the local community. Crime of all kinds has found modern transportation facilities a valuable protective cover, and law enforcement has had its problems increased many-fold.

The breakdown of the community through the development of modern transportation has created serious problems of other types. In rural areas where community disintegration is far advanced, it has isolated even more those unable to take advantage of modern transportation. As the Maryland youth study so clearly revealed, those who did not possess the modern means of transportation could not take advantage of the greater amusement or social privileges made available in the larger distant urban centers.⁴ Since those with means in the local community could and did take advantage of this new privilege, it meant the sources of outlet for social activities formerly available in the local community had dried up largely through economic strangulation. The plight of a large segment of economically submerged youths and adults in these areas has been greatly aggravated.⁵

How do changes in population affect the world of the adolescent?

Each year we feel more and more cramped and hemmed in as our population increases. America has been moving rapidly from a country of wide-open spaces and sparse settlements to

⁴Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, pp. 157 ff.

⁵It is not feasible nor is it the function of this chapter to consider extensively the several problems presented here. It is possible to mention only a few of the major issues created by changing conditions under each of the large categories in order to suggest to the student the nature of the problems which confront our present and our future citizens. To illustrate these problems better the topic just discussed was treated more extensively than will be those which follow.

one of more thickly populated communities. The rapidity of growth of the population in the United States for the past century and a half has been unparalleled in world history. At the time of the Revolution the American colonies had approximately 2,500,000 people. From a population of 5,308,000 in 1800 the nation grew to slightly over 131,669,000 in 1940, to an estimated population in excess of 147,280,000 in 1948. Nearly half of this population gain has come within the past fifty years. This means that within the short span of a lifetime the present older generation has witnessed the doubling of our population.

This great population mass has tended to overflow westward. The historic Santa Fe Trail and Oregon Trail are but symbols of that westward movement of a rapidly growing population. This population first spilled over into the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, then on westward over the Rockies to the Pacific coast areas.

As every student now knows, the great days of the western frontiers are over. What most American citizens have not become aware of are the tremendous problems which this changed condition creates for the future of America and its citizens of tomorrow. Ours has been an expanding economy with what appeared to be almost unlimited resources for future development. As a young, rapidly growing country, we have for the most part tended to evade rather than face the actualities of the problems which confronted us. When malconditions arose leading to economic and social dislocations, panics, and so forth, the easiest way out has been to find our outlets westward toward new horizons and new opportunities. "Go West, young man, go West!" was the familiar slogan of much of the last century—the American panacea for most of its ills. Our founding fathers were confident we would require centuries to settle the vast expanses to the west of the Atlantic seaboard. It was assumed we had unlimited resources in timber to last a thousand years. Yet, in less than a century and a half, America has seen those wide expanses inhabited and settled, with its forest areas, much of it the creation of centuries, largely denuded. In a real sense we have come to the end of the trail; we have in fact come to the end of an era. In this new era America must ap-

proach the adjustment of her problems within the framework of a more stable and necessarily a less mobile population.

There have been other important developments associated with our growth in population that have produced problems and foreshadow even greater problems for tomorrow's solution. As the growing population surged westward and began to seek permanency in the new environments, it has shown a distinct tendency to concentrate in urban centers. In 1790 about 5 per cent of the population could be classified as urban. By 1940 the portion of the population classified as urban had reached 56.5 per cent; and in 1947 it had reached 59.0 per cent. Something of the nature of this relative increase in urbanization can be better appreciated through a concrete example. Ohio in 1810 had slightly over 1 per cent of its population urban, whereas in 1940 almost 67 per cent of the population lived in urban centers. Prior to 1850 the gain in Ohio's population was essentially rural. Since that date the population in Ohio has more than trebled, but the cities have absorbed most of the increase. This can be seen most clearly by a comparison of the census data since 1890, the period of Ohio's greatest population growth.

TABLE 22
COMPARATIVE GROWTH OF URBAN AND STATE POPULATIONS OF OHIO
1890-1940

| Subject | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| State population . . . | 3,672,329 | 4,157,545 | 4,767,121 | 5,759,394 | 6,646,697 | 6,907,612 |
| Urban population . . | 1,504,390 | 1,998,382 | 2,665,143 | 3,677,136 | 4,507,371 | 4,612,986 |
| Rural population . . | 2,167,939 | 2,159,163 | 2,101,978 | 2,082,258 | 2,139,326 | 2,294,626 |
| Per cent urban population | 41.0 | 48.1 | 55.9 | 63.8 | 67.8 | 66.8 |
| Per cent rural population | 59.0 | 51.9 | 44.1 | 36.2 | 32.2 | 33.2 |

In no other country of the world have large cities shown such phenomenal mushroom growth. Seldom has imaginative planning prepared for this growth of our cities. Traffic bottlenecks arise because of narrow streets and lack of coordinated traffic patterns. One can pass, often within the space of a block

or two, from neat attractive thriving areas to sections that are at once a fire, health, and social menace to the total community. The rapidity of urban development has not provided the accumulated experience necessary for the wisest government of these rambling, frequently almost incoherent, centers of mass populations.

Among the many problems confronting America's citizenship of tomorrow with respect to their cities is that of democratic government. There are many who look with concern upon our admitted failure to date to make democracy work in most of our large cities. To call the roll of some of the notorious characters generally acknowledged to control the political, and through politics, much of the rest of city life would be superfluous. The unsavory reputations of the characters themselves and the names of the cities they dominate are all too well known to American adults and youths alike.

The mixture of races in America is another of our population problems. Unlike the other major nations of the world, the United States does not have a dominant group historically indigenous to our American soil. The original inhabitants, the Indians, probably never exceeding a population of a million, now number less than 350,000. The broad classification of "white population," including practically all Europeans from the English to the Italian and Greek, numbers almost 120,000,000 of which nearly 35,000,000 are listed as "foreign white stock." Among the major groups, other than those of north-west Europe, are listed: Russian, 2,610,000; Czechoslovakian, 984,000; Mexican, 1,076,000; German, 5,236,000; Polish, 2,905,000; Italian, 4,594,000; French, 1,257,000; Greek, 326,000; Spanish and Portuguese, 285,000. The United States also provides sanctuary for approximately thirteen million Negroes, 126,000 Japanese besides Chinese, Filipinos, and others not included above in the broad classification as white.* Many of these groups still speak their native language, live in clannish segregation, and have not become truly integrated with other

*The data above are for the year 1940 and are taken from the Census figures reported in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1945*. Edited by E. Eastman Irvine. New York: The New York World-Telegram, 1945, pp. 489-491 and from *Advance Sheets* of the Sixteenth United States Census, 1940.

groups. As a result there have been evidences of growing tensions between racial and national groups. The much vaunted ideal of America as the great "melting pot" of the world has not been too happily realized. Possibly much of the fault lies in our neglect consciously to take steps to insure interracial understandings and cooperative living among our polyglot peoples. It is one of the urgent and inescapable problems, the solution of which the growth and consequent proximity of population groups makes imperative.

Serious as are the problems which confront us as a consequence of the unprecedented population growth, they would be multiplied several times over were we to assume a similar continued rapid increase for the next half century. There are some straws in the wind which suggest a gradual slowing down of our growth in population. Long before the second world war immigration had been reduced to a mere trickle. It is unlikely the gates will again be opened to the people of other lands to permit large numbers to come to our shores as they did at the beginning of this century. Before 1940 the birth rate had shown a definite downward trend; family units were constantly getting smaller. There has been a rapid upward swing in the birth rate during and immediately following the war. Prediction studies made in the last decade and based upon trends then in vogue led to the conclusion that the population in the United States would reach its probable maximum between 1960 and 1970, certainly by 1980. A subsequent decline in population, it has been predicted, would take place and level off somewhere around 150,000,000 people as the stationary population level for the United States. Should the upsurge in the birth rate that has taken place since 1940 prove more than a temporary break in the previous trend, and other significant trends be upset, then these conclusions will prove invalid. Population experts, however, are convinced of the essential accuracy of their earlier predictions.⁷

⁷See Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Vol. I. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, pp. 46-58; David, Paul T., *Postwar Youth Employment*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1943, pp. 66-76; and *The Problems of a Changing Population*. Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938.

Grave difficulties which may be averted by the slowing down or actual halting of the growth in population are not without their offsets because of this possible eventuality. With a static or declining population there will be a disproportionate number of aged to younger groups. This means that the burden of support for those nonproductive or rapidly declining in productivity must fall on a relatively smaller productive group. Moreover, our whole economy has been built upon the assumption of a rapidly growing youthful population and a parallel expansion of our needs and wants. Increased consumption created by larger numbers has spurred on production and rapid expansion of production and transportation facilities with a heavy drain on the labor market to provide for these growing demands. Capital was in demand for expansion programs and the investment market could absorb the thrifty savings of people. All this is subject to change in a condition of static or declining population. It need not be, but if this contingency is to be averted, it will require the application of a high degree of imaginative genius.

Intelligent understanding of causes and effects of these conditions, creative imagination and skill to make necessary and desirable adjustments in the modes of living, and an adventurous attitude on the part of all to try out new ways of enriching life consonant with the changed conditions will be absolutely imperative. It is the task bequeathed to the youth of today who will become tomorrow's adult citizens. There is abundant evidence that many bewildered citizens sense the problem vaguely even if they do not see the solution. It was with something of this apprehensive feeling of the uncertainty of the future that the then President of the American Economic Association in the late thirties observed:

We are moving swiftly out of the order in which those of our generation were brought up, into no one knows what. . . . We are passing, so to speak, over a divide which separates the great era of growth and expansion of the nineteenth century from an era which no man unwilling to embark on pure conjecture can as yet characterize with clarity and precision.^a

^aHansen, Alvin H., "Progress and Declining Population," *American Economic Review*, 29:1, March, 1939.

How do changes in industrial and economic conditions affect the world of the adolescent?

The changes that have taken place in our industrial and economic life within the past century, even within the past fifty years, have been nothing less than phenomenal. Our "infant" industrial organizations which required such careful nurturing in the early years of the nation's history to insure their ability to compete with the strong, established business concerns of Europe are no longer "infant." In spite of their insistence upon the continued support of "protective tariffs" and other accustomed governmental aids, they have long since become of age. They have, in fact, become the modern colossi of the industrial world. These businesses are now billion dollar corporations. We had, in 1946, forty-three such billion dollar business organizations, with combined assets of more than 100 billion dollars. The total assets of all industrial concerns, banks, and insurance companies in 1946 were estimated at 400 billion dollars. This means that these forty-three billion dollar corporations possessed approximately one-fourth of the assets of all the business of the nation.

One of our leading magazines, in 1936, carried an extended account of one of these corporations.* In 1935 this corporation had more than 195,000 employees, although fifteen years before it had had 267,000 in its employ. This corporation produced as much steel annually as did all Germany. If a family unit were assumed to consist of four persons and most of the workers were rightfully assumed to represent such a family unit, over most of that period the well-being of nearly three-quarters to one million persons were in a very real sense dependent upon the success of the corporation and the degree of enlightenment of its labor and social welfare policies. How far-reaching the effects of these are upon the workers and their families are well known by students of our industrial society.

*Editors of *Fortune*, "The U.S. Steel Corporation," *Fortune*, 13:173-174 ff., March, 1936; 127-132 ff., April, 1936; 93-97 ff., May, 1936; 113-120 ff., June, 1936.

A consideration of what is known as the parent corporation is frequently only a small aspect of the total problem which must be taken into account. This one billion dollar corporation controlled more than 200 subsidiary corporations, many of them far from the infant classification. Among these subsidiary corporations were listed the second largest coal company in the world, the largest pipe company in the world, the largest cement company in the world, eighteen railroads of which four were Class I railroad companies. Let your imagination consider the remaining 180 or more lesser subsidiaries, some only slightly inferior to the ones-mentioned and some of relatively little consequence taken by themselves. It does not require much imagination to understand how influential such a corporation can be or how widespread the dependence of workers and their families is upon such a corporation.

That this corporation typifies something of the magnitude of modern business organization may be gleaned further from the report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Senate Small Business Committee. It points out the following significant facts about our overgrown industrial organizations:

1. The 45 largest transportation corporations owned 92 per cent of all the transportation facilities of the country.
2. The 40 largest public-utility corporations owned more than 80 per cent of the public utility facilities.
3. The country's 20 largest banks held 27 per cent of the total loans and investments of all the banks.
4. The 17 largest life insurance companies accounted for over 81.5 per cent of all the assets of all life insurance companies.
5. The 200 largest nonfinancial corporations owned about 55 per cent of all the assets of all the nonfinancial corporations in the country.
6. One tenth of 1 per cent of all the corporations owned 52 per cent of the total corporate assets.
7. One tenth of 1 per cent of all the corporations earned 50 per cent of the total corporate net income.
8. Less than 4 per cent of all the manufacturing corporations earned 84 per cent of all the net profits of all manufacturing corporations.
9. No less than 33 per cent of the total value of all manufactured products was produced under conditions where the four largest producers of each individual product accounted for over 75 per cent of the total United States output.

10. More than 57 per cent of the total value of manufactured products was produced under conditions where the four largest producers of each product turned out over 50 per cent of the total United States output.
11. One tenth of 1 per cent of all the firms in the country in 1939 employed 500 or more workers and accounted for 40 per cent of all the nonagricultural employment in the country.
12. In manufacturing 1.1 per cent of all the firms employed 500 or more workers and accounted for 48 per cent of all the manufacturing employment in the country.
13. One-third of the industrial-research personnel was employed by 13 companies. Two-thirds of the research workers were employed by 140 companies.¹⁰

In keeping with these evidences of the stupendous size of American business organizations is the statement of Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge in an address before the New Council of American Business in December, 1946 that the 250 largest corporations in the United States held about two-thirds of the nation's usable manufacturing facilities.¹¹ It should be remembered that there are over 400,000 corporations of all sizes in the United States.

Not only are the business activities of the country organized into powerful corporations but these again are often recombined under the control of much smaller, and consequently potentially greater, financial group interests. For example, the Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation discusses the possibilities and the probabilities that in the past war years our already large manufacturing corporations will become larger, and concludes that:

the usable facilities which would be held by the 250 giant corporations would nearly equal those of all the manufacturing corporations in 1939. And the facilities of corporations controlled by five great financial interest-groups—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, du Pont, and the Cleveland

¹⁰*Economic Concentration and World War II.* Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, United States Senate. Document No. 206. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. 55-56.

¹¹Associated Press dispatch in the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, December 12, 1946, p. 2.

group—would be equal to nearly half that of all manufacturing corporations in 1939.¹²

The tremendous potential power for good or ill concentrated in a relatively small number of mammoth corporations or even fewer great financial interests cannot be ignored by the alert citizen. There are advantages in large corporate activity: economy in mass production, purchasing power, volume distribution, and numerous other aspects are commonly recognized. American technological achievements have made mechanized development often financially unprofitable, if not prohibitive, unless large production or organization facilities are possible, backed by large blocks of capital. On the other hand, there is a growing conviction on the part of many that there may be an optimum size in the various businesses beyond which size does not bring increased economies, but may result in relative inefficiencies.

The citizen in a democracy must weigh all these factors of size in relation to their ultimate effect upon the common good. With size comes economic power which may be used with incalculable effects upon the total economic, political, and social welfare of communities, the nation, or even internationally. At once an intelligent citizenry must re-evaluate the radical changes that have taken place in the potential power for good or ill to society of these industrial colossi. Such questions as these must be seriously considered: "In what way may powerful business organizations become a possible threat or menace to the welfare of a democratic society?" "What evidence, if any, do we have to date of the misuse of such potential power in the past by large business corporations?" "Is the traditional attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the society that characterized the colonial period of infant industries desirable today?" "If not, what safeguards must we, through our government, adopt to make certain these powerful business groups

¹²*Economic Concentration and World War II*. Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, United States Senate. Document No. 206. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 60. See also for further data on this subject *United States Versus Economic Concentration and Monopoly*. A Staff Report to the Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

serve the public interest rather than their selfish interests alone?"

Changes in our industrial and economic life already have created problems that have aroused public concern. Further changes threaten even greater problems which the citizens of tomorrow must solve. Efforts to protect the public welfare against possible abuses of powerful industrial economic groups have led to the adoption of many devices as safeguards of the common good. States and local governmental agencies have set up regulatory measures of control through charter or license of business concerns, various agencies or departments to provide close supervision of the activities of these economic groups, and legislation considered desirable or necessary to control these economic organizations in the public interest. The federal government has set up many regulatory bodies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate interstate business.

In addition to these efforts to protect the public good, much legislation has been enacted by the federal government. Perhaps the best known of the earlier attempts on the part of the government to cope with what it thought was a dangerous tendency on the part of large economic groups was the enactment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The Pure Food Law is the outgrowth of a recognition on the part of the federal government that we were passing rapidly from a condition where much of what was eaten was raised and processed by the family which consumed it to a situation where food processing was done by machine on a large scale and remote from the consumer. Adulteration, contamination, and food spoilage were among the sources of danger to the public health against which these changed conditions of food processing required legislative protection.

The changed conditions of employment created by our industrial development have been reflected in a mass of legislation to regulate labor-employer relations. The Wagner act and the Taft-Hartley act represent major recent efforts to cope with the baffling problems of labor which the complexities of mass production have brought upon us. The old days when the laborer and the man for whom he worked met face to face

to bargain for the laborer's services now exist for a relatively few. The employer seldom meets his employees individually. It is physically not feasible where hundreds and thousands of employees are involved. Negotiations must be carried on by proxy. To meet these conditions labor has organized to negotiate and to protect its rights. The Congress, with many evidences of confusion and uncertainty, has tried to set up through legislation safeguards for the employee, the employer, and for those citizens who are frequently victims, though not participants, in labor disputes.

It is clear the solutions are not yet satisfactorily decided for the best way to safeguard the welfare of all against the possible misuse of the concentrated power which has accrued from mass organization and production. As economic groups tend to become larger, the problems of safeguards and controls will become more intricate and the need for their solution more urgent.

How do changes in home life affect the world of the adolescent?

Change which has touched all other phases of our lives is leaving its mark upon the home. Much of life centered about the home of yesterday; in an agrarian era economic activities had the home as a center—the work of the farm was a family undertaking. The activities of the farm were seldom carried on out of sight of the farm home which became the conscious center of family living. The farm yard itself, and often the house, became the center of much economic activity with the care of poultry, swine, and other stock, and production of milk, butter, and cheese. Most of the needs of the family were supplied from the soil and the labor of its members. Wheat and corn, often ground on the farm or at a neighborhood mill, supplied the flour and meal. Meat was processed in the fall for winter needs; smoked ham and bacon, sausage, dried beef, lard, and other by-products were familiar to every farm and village home. In great-grandmother's day even clothing came from the carded and home-spun wool, and leather from the tanned hides of the animals on the farm.

The economic activities of the small village were carried on adjacent to, or not far distant from, the worker's home. To live over or in one part of the building which housed the business of the worker was a common practice. The life of the village was closely linked with that of the surrounding farms. Such a situation led to a sense of close integration and group identity among members of the family. They had common interests and purposes developed through sharing common tasks and a sense of group responsibility for the success or failure of the family enterprises.

The social life of the members of the family centered in the home also. The family ate together at breakfast, lunch, and dinner. In the evenings the family circle frequently joined in parlor games or were joined by members of neighboring families. Commercial entertainment was at a minimum or virtually nonexistent. The family unit was largely self-sustaining. What the family lacked was made up through association with other families of the community in one another's homes.

Today, all this has changed. A majority of our population is now classified as urban; approximately 15 per cent only of our national labor force is engaged in agricultural pursuits. Family life as it was known in an earlier day no longer exists. Too, the family has felt the influence of the many other forces that have led to radical changes in our national and local economy. Technological development with the consequent shift to mass production has removed both activities and people from the farm and small village. Home processing of foods and clothing has given way largely to machine processing in giant plants far remote from the source of raw material production. Modern transportation and the tendency to commercialize entertainment have drawn the members of the family more and more away from the home as a center of family life.

The members of urban homes tend to become individualistic in their interests and behavior. The breadwinner of the family usually leaves home after a hurried breakfast and does not return until near the dinner hour. If he is a professional man, duties frequently require evenings away from home, often inclusive of the dinner hour as well. It is quite common for the tempo of modern business to take members of the family

away from home regularly or at frequent intervals of days, weeks, and months. Other members of the family who are working or are in school are seldom home except mornings and evenings. Several evenings a week commercial entertainment and other activities draw members of the family out of the home. As a result, few social activities for the entire family now take place in the home. A warden of one of our penitentiaries recently observed that "the average American home has become principally a lodging place for its members to sleep in and a place where they take some of their meals." For the urban home few tasks remain as educative devices for the children. There are no farm chores for the city youth. Automatic gas, oil, and coal stokers, apartments, or even residences with small yards leave urban youths with plenty of time on their hands and virtually no home responsibilities.

These are not the only changes which affect the modern American home. Fifty years ago few married women worked outside the home unless they went into the fields beside other members of the family. In 1900 there were 769,000 married women regularly employed outside the home. By 1940 the number so employed had risen to four and a half million. Between 1890 and 1940 the percentage of married women gainfully occupied outside the home had risen from 2 per cent to 9 per cent of all gainfully employed workers. This should be considered along with the fact that the divorce rate in 1946 according to the United States Census Bureau was approximately one divorce to every 3.7 marriages. In some communities divorces even exceed the annual ratio of marriages. These facts have produced a grave social situation.

It is evident that the home as an economic, social, and educational institution is undergoing profound change. The extent to which present trends will continue as the inevitable accompaniment of the greater social changes now in progress is entirely conjectural. One can have reasonable confidence, however, that even greater changes are ahead. It is definitely the responsibility of youth of today and tomorrow to be intelligently aware of what is transpiring. The problem is squarely up to them to determine what, if any, effort should be made to counteract current changes in the home, or, on the basis of

those far-reaching evolutionary changes affecting the whole social structure of our society to try to reconstruct a pattern of the family institution that will capitalize on, and be in harmony with, the possibilities inherent in these profound social changes.

How do these changes affect the nature of the problems youth must solve?

Two things are abundantly clear: one is that the world of grandfather's day has little resemblance to our world of today; and even less is it to be expected that the world of tomorrow will resemble the world of today or that succeeding generations will bear much resemblance to those that have preceded them. How important that is for the youth of today was very vividly pictured more than a decade ago by Alfred North Whitehead as he commented on this aspect of change:

The beauty of the economic man was that we knew exactly what he was after. . . . His wants were those developed in a well-defined social system. His father and grandfather had the same wants, and satisfied them in the same way. . . . The consumer knew what he wanted to consume. This was the demand. The producer knew how to produce the required articles, hence the supply. The men who got the goods onto the spot first, at the cheapest price, made their fortunes; the other producers were eliminated. . . . It expresses the dominant truth exactly so far as there are stable well-tried conditions. But when we are concerned with a social system which in important ways is changing, this simplified conception of human relations requires severe qualification. It is, of course, common knowledge that the whole trend of political economy during the last thirty or forty years has been away from these artificial simplifications. . . . The older political economy reigned supreme for about a hundred years from the time of Adam Smith, because in its main assumptions it did apply to the general circumstances of life as led, then and for innumerable centuries in the past. These circumstances were then already passing away.¹⁸

The second important implication to be gathered is that this rapidity of change is unique, unlike anything ever before known, and its acceleration in the future promises to increase

¹⁸Whitehead, Alfred North, *Adventures of Ideas*, pp. 119-20. New York. Copyright, 1933 by The Macmillan Company and used with their permission.

greatly. Something of the significance of this unique situation is pointed out by Whitehead in this further challenging observation:

Our sociological theories, our political philosophy, our practical maxims of business, our political economy, and our doctrines of education are derived from an unbroken tradition of thinkers and of practical examples, from the age of Plato in the fifth century before Christ to the end of the last century. The whole of this tradition is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mold with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false.²⁴

The effect of these implications upon the nature of the problems youths of today and tomorrow must solve is nothing short of revolutionary: it means a complete reorientation of the approach they must make to contemporary and future problems. There is no longer a safe anchorage for a youth in the accepted pattern of the thinking of his fathers. His problems cannot be solved by any attempt to fit them into the conditions of the past. Neither in the solution of his problems can he with safety project existing conditions of today into the life of tomorrow. The set of conditions that surround the situation which creates the problem must determine the nature of the solution of the problem. Henceforth the conditions that surround every problem will be unique and different. By the same token these new conditions will require a somewhat different approach to the solution of the problems involved.

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²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 117.

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Questions and Problems

1. What improvements do you think should be made if our sources of public information are to serve adequately the needs of citizens in a democracy?
2. Read Cousins' *Modern Man Is Obsolete* and give your reactions to the evidence given by Cousins as to man's obsolescence.

3. What will be your attitude as a teacher when you find pupils reading comic books in your classroom or in the study hall?
4. Which services now performed by the school should be supplanted or supplemented by radio and *vice versa*? Would public ownership of radio influence the statements you have made?
5. Mention several instances where man continues merely to accept change as contrasted with other instances where man is attempting to control and direct change for his own purposes.
6. What further obligations are placed upon schools in areas where people are inadequately supplied with newspapers, motion pictures, telephones, radios, and similar services?
7. Read again carefully the second quotation from Professor Whitehead's writings and get clearly in mind what the "false assumption" is. List organized groups in this country that would disagree wholly or in part with the statement.
8. List several Acts of Congress in the last few sessions which indicate an attempt to direct or control change for the public good. Can you find legislation to indicate a lack of awareness of this as a world of change? Legislation pointing backwards?
9. What is the case for censorship of movies, radio, television, and publishing? Do the same arguments apply to the legal prohibition of "subversive" political or economic organizations?
10. How adequately is the present student generation being educated for understanding the problems of minority groups? Are these problems best handled by the teacher of English, social studies, science, or common learnings? Is intercultural education an all-school obligation?
11. Search for statistics that show how many individuals own one-fourth and one-half of the stock of all United States corporations. How widely is ownership of corporate stock distributed according to corporation advertisements? According to statistical research?
12. Look over the recent platforms of the leading political parties. In two columns, list the statements that recognize the need for change and those that show resistance to change.
13. Does the increased divorce rate destroy the family as an institution or is the family merely a more flexible institution than it was in the past? State your reasons for either view.
14. List problems suggested in this chapter which you believe the school should treat more fully. Do you find any problems which are bigger or broader than the present separate subjects now making up the curriculum? Is there a remedy?
15. What happens in the evolutionary process to organisms unable to adapt themselves to change? Is it contrary to man's "inner nature" to welcome directed and controlled change as desirable?

CHAPTER X

WHAT SHOULD BE THE TASK OF THE SCHOOL IN AMERICA?

What is the peculiar function of education in a democracy?

As workers in the secondary school we are interested in the nature and scope of the task that is now or soon will be our responsibility. Before it is possible to visualize the task of education for one segment of the school, however, it is necessary to see what devolves upon all the parts of that school. Even so, a moment's thought may suggest that the school does not encompass all that we call education. Certainly no one would deny that historically education antedates the formal institution known as the school. The school as an institution has been in existence but a relatively short time as man reckons time. Education, on the other hand, is as old as human history. Possibly at this point a prior question will inevitably arise that should be considered; namely, "Just what do we mean by the word education?"

What is education? The answer to this question is not as simple as it may seem on first thought to be. Start a discussion in almost any group by an inquiry into the meaning of the word education. It may be very illuminating to discover how confused is the thinking of many on what they consider education to mean. Others, on the other hand, will be quite definite as to what they think education is, but widely divergent in their concepts. The basis for much of these differences in point of view is due to widely divergent notions of the nature of the learning process. This was discussed at some length in relation to the definition of the curriculum.

Education can be approached from two directions: it may be regarded as a process or it may be thought of in terms of pur-

pose. It is highly important for the educational worker to keep always in mind that education is a process, that, from the standpoint of the learner, it is a process of acquiring or developing competencies of one kind or another. These competencies are acquired by a slow modification in the behavior patterns of the learner. From the standpoint of the teacher, education is the careful, patient guidance of the learner in the learning situation so that certain progress in the change in behavior patterns or achievement of competencies desired is assured. Many teachers forget this fundamental fact about the nature of the educational process. They tend to expect a finished product, an effective efficient type of behavior, when instead they should expect only crude reactions at a given stage in the educational process.

A short time ago the writer was asked to participate in a program which was conducted entirely by a group of young people. During the program the smooth flow in the sequence of the different parts was slightly broken by a few minor mishaps. It was exactly what should be expected of a group of nervous, overanxious youths engaging in roles to which they were not accustomed. Later, the teacher in training who was the adviser of the group apologized to the writer for the lack of finish in the conduct of the program. It was suggested, however, that the young people had done very well, that the minor slips that occurred were exactly what should be expected of learners, that had they conducted the program with the finesse of older trained persons accustomed to the management of such programs we might be very gratified at their performance, but at the same time we might well ask ourselves whether we were not wasting valuable time. After all this was supposed to be an educational experience for the youth involved. Lack of finish in the learning situation was only normal at this stage in their education. With a look both of relief and surprise the teacher commented: "I am so glad to hear you say that. Hereafter I shall remember this in my teaching."

All too often teachers and administrators who have become accustomed to the halting efforts of youth to master at once the intricacies of a language or the skills involved in typing or

playing a musical instrument are critical of the stumbling of pupils in social situations. If students do not conduct themselves at social events of the school with the complete exhibition of good judgment in conduct assumed of mature, and at that, superior adults or show the maturity in their student government activities seldom observed even of older people, these activities are likely to be roundly condemned as uneducative. Recently, in considerable exasperation, a teacher commenting on the failure of the students in her high school to measure up to her high standards in the conduct of their student government exclaimed: "These youngsters just do not know how to govern themselves." With that she was ready to pronounce student government activities a failure and revert to older forms of teacher-dominated discipline. For the moment, at least, she had forgotten that in the development of desirable social behavior patterns education was, in part, a process.

It is important for the teacher to have clearly in mind that education is a process, and that all changes in the behavior patterns of the learner, whether in the realm of the older traditional areas of learning of the school or in the manifold areas of living outside of school, are achieved through the same basic process. The teacher must recognize also another important aspect or approach to education. It is not enough to know how education takes place, it is of the utmost importance for the educational worker to see clearly the direction in which the process is taking place. Change always takes place in a given direction, although the direction may be modified from time to time and we may not be clearly aware of the goal, or changes of goal, toward which actual change takes place. These two aspects of education, process and purpose, are complementary.

The educator, then, must be fully conscious of the dual aspect of education. He must be fully alive to the goals toward which the educative process should move. Indeed, this is imperative if the educational worker is to understand the nature of education and be effective in its use. An important statement of the purpose of education in a democratic society that has found increasing acceptance among this generation of educa-

tional workers comes from the now famous *Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary School*, of the National Education Association, made in 1918. In this report the over-all purpose of education was stated to be:

To develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.¹

A more comprehensive statement from the pen of a well-known contemporary educator graphically sets forth the place of purpose in education and also suggests the dual aspects of education, the purpose and the process, in these words:

The end of education is to be found in neither the one period nor the other [child or adult], but rather in the growth of the power of the learner to cope with this environment—a growth which is nurtured through a direct participation in the life of the group and through a vicarious participation in the racial experience. . . . The child should be equipped to perform many of the activities adults perform, but often on a more generous scale and according to an improved pattern. Even so, the aim is not to prepare him for adult life, but to give him mastery over his world and to make him a guardian of the spiritual possessions of the groups.²

Another writer expresses the dual nature of education very succinctly in these words: "The various processes conditioning the growth and development of childhood and youth to participate in the life of society make up what is known as education."³

A definition of education. The foregoing discussion has revealed the dual aspects of process and purpose in any adequate conception of education. It would seem pertinent at this point to consider a definition of education that may be accepted as basic and dynamic in all discussions in this book. It is expected that the reader will want to think through for himself the

¹*Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 1935. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 9.

²Counts, George S., "Some Notes on the Foundations of Curriculum Making," *Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1926, pp. 74-75.

³Wiley, George M., Jr., *The Redirection of Secondary Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 1.

meaning of education for a democratic society. It should sharpen the reader's critical approach to the problems if the conception of education basic to the considerations that follow is clearly understood. For the purpose of such a conception for this book *the function of education is conceived to be the adjustment of man to his environment, which contemplates man's adaptation to and the reconstruction of his environment to the end that the most enduring satisfactions may accrue to the individual and to society.*

Thoughtful students will recognize at once that the conception of adjustment here is a twofold and dynamic one. Among too many adults education is thought of wholly as a function of adaptation. They look upon education as a device by which children and youth are taught to conform to the existing patterns of society. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that adaptation is imperative for the person who would survive. There is a rigorousness about life which childhood and youth must learn to understand and fully appreciate. The earlier and more fully this is understood and the more adequately adaptations are achieved, the better it will be for the learner. It may even be the determinant as to whether or not he survives to adulthood. The individual very early in life learns that there are some aspects of our physical world which cannot be ignored with impunity. The child learns very early that he must make some adaptations to a hot stove or radiator. After a few painful experiences falling down steps, off chairs, or bumping against solid objects, he develops a wholesome attitude toward, and a type of behavior adaptation to, similar physical phenomena of his world. As he grows older, he discovers the inexorableness of much of our physical world requires for survival much more numerous, complex, and exacting forms of behavior adaptation. He learns, for example, that his somewhat delicately adjusted physical organism requires adaptations in his behavior with respect to food, rest, protection against certain weather exposures, and numerous other physical conditions that affect both his prospects of physical comfort and even of continued existence.

The simpler the mode of living of the individual, the less complex the adaptive aspects of his life. Primitive man found

the adaptive requirements of his physical existence few and uncomplicated: rough caves, grass huts, or the familiar wigwam or lean-to provided shelter; his clothing in colder climates might consist of the skins of animals, and garments fashioned of grass, leaves, the bark from trees, or just the "g" string met his needs in warmer regions; sometimes in very hot climates clothes were looked upon as wholly unnecessary. Food for the most part was easily obtainable—the streams, lakes and oceans provided fish and waterfowl in abundance, wild life was available equally in the forests and on the plains. Americans are all familiar with the stories of the herds of wild buffalo, deer, and antelope that roamed the prairie regions or the forests of our country when the Indian was the principal inhabitant. Nuts, fruits, and berries were the familiar gifts of nature to primitive man. The writer recalls quite vividly the wistful statement made several years ago by a native Hawaiian to a group of visitors to his abode in a remote part of one of the islands. Said he, as he described the life of his people before what we call civilization came to the islands, "Before the white man came to our beautiful islands life here was wonderful. The great God had been good to us. In this warm climate we had little need of clothes. What covering we needed was easily fashioned from the bark of trees or the grass at our feet. The ocean and streams had all the fish we could eat, and they were easy to catch. We could get all the berries, fruits, and nuts we wanted to eat. A small patch of taro near our grass hut gave us our poi. We had most of our time free to enjoy ourselves." Adaptation for primitive man in his most primitive state was indeed simple, and it was more so where the climate was mild and nature generous with her food resources.

Quite the opposite is true as man has succeeded in creating for himself a complex environment in response to his multiplied wants; the more complex his world becomes the greater are the adaptive demands upon man. He is often far removed from the natural resources that made life for primitive man relatively simple. If he lives in a modern city, he cannot take his foodstuffs simply by capture of wild life from an abundantly supplied near-by stream, field, or forest, nor can he get cloth-

ing or shelter by the simple expedient of draping himself with a few animal skins, woven grass coverings or seeking out a cave or crude shelter from the raw materials of nature. No, today if he seeks food, he must make very careful adaptations to an elaborate but not too flexible economic-social system whereby he must develop marketable skills, in all probability not remotely related to the capture of wild life or other raw foodstuffs, sell those skills—often by meeting the complicated requirements of a labor system which in turn markets those skills to the employer—accommodate himself to the conditions of employment prevalent in the place where he works, accept the token medium of exchange for his labor, seek out a particular retail center where the product desired is for sale at a price. If it is food in quantity he seeks, it is likely that the product is uncooked. He must meet certain conditions before this food is edible, for under modern conditions very few uncooked foods are free from contaminations that make them safe for consumption unless properly prepared. He will not be permitted to start a fire when and where he pleases even though he is fortunate enough to secure the necessary materials for a fire. He must adapt himself to very stringent regulations governing fire hazards as well as sanitary and other restrictions related to the place and manner of the preparation of foods. The adaptive demands evident in this incomplete portrayal of a simple phase of modern life as compared with primitive living needs to be multiplied almost infinitely for us to appreciate the extent of adaptive skill required of man in his complex environment.

Peculiarly enough man has not been satisfied with the simplicities of primitive life. There has been a restlessness about man that has made him refuse to accept things as they are. It has been a characteristic of his genius that has set him apart as unique in his world. He has made adaptations where they were necessary but has sought continually to reconstruct his environment to serve his own comfort and advancement. Ironically, the more complex the environmental situation man has imposed upon himself by his artificial wants and created values becomes, the more insistent and extensive become the demands for a reconstruction of his environment so that the

new desires thus stimulated may be satisfied. Today, the products of his reconstructive genius are monumental and far-reaching in their nature and importance. As each day brings new evidence of man's conquest of his environment through his ability to reconstruct it, it becomes more imperative that this phase of the educative function receive greater attention.

The complexities that have resulted from man's efforts to reconstruct his physical world have greatly and seriously affected man's social environment. The social adaptations required of primitive man were few—group life centered principally about the family. Beyond the family there was a rather simple organization of the group into clans or tribes with few adaptive requirements imposed on the individual. As man forsook the simple nomadic type of life for the more complex existence associated with permanent commodious places of abode, cultivated properties, and shared group activities as in manufacture, his problems of social adjustment multiplied. They have continued to increase at a bewildering tempo as man has stepped-up his efforts to reconstruct his physical environment. Shared possessions, shared activities, shared responsibilities, and, in no small measure, even shared living in modern society have required new and difficult modes of social adjustment. It is clear from our previous discussion that many of the problems the individual faced in adjusting to a complex physical world were in fact the result of the social implications of these changes. When man lived in a measure of isolation, family from family and tribe from tribe, social contacts were limited. Add to this a minimum of possessions which the individual usually could pack on his back, and the social problems are seen to be few and simple. The adaptation of behavior to the rules governing social relationships between individuals was easily understood and achieved.

All this has undergone profound change with the complexities of modern civilization. Possessions have become extensive, they cannot be carried with us wherever we go. We frequently are forced to come in contact with the possessions of others. Children and youths, to say nothing of adults, must learn the meaning of "mine" and "thine" and a proper regard for the things of others be they small personal possessions or

large properties such as buildings which should not be defaced, street lights which should not be broken, and so forth. Compact forms of living represented in our modern cities by houses only a few feet apart, apartment dwellings, rooming houses, and hotels suggest social conditions which require a very high degree of adaptive behavior and understanding. Add to this our modern types of transportation, and the complex problems of social adjustment become apparent. Where youths in primitive society had one simple adaptation to make to the social world, modern youths have innumerable complex behavior adaptations to make. It is equally clear that the reconstructive function of education at this point is much more important and difficult of achievement. With every change in man's complex mode of living, society must consider either the modification of our social patterns of adaptation or the complete scrapping of them and the adoption of new "rules of the road." To create new rules which will insure "that the most enduring satisfactions may accrue to the individual and to society" is a reconstruction function of adjustment not easily attained. Yet nothing is more imperative than that the oncoming generations of children and youths be equipped with the necessary competencies to adjust social living to meet the needs of their changing physical world. We have suffered a severe cultural lag because scientific development has advanced in its reconstruction of our physical world far beyond our willingness or ability, probably both, to match physical reconstruction with appropriate social reconstruction. Education in the future must give much more attention to the social environment. Youth must be made constructively critical of our social "rules of the road," many of which became obsolete with changed conditions and others of which are obsolescent. Those that are obsolete should be eliminated and new ones should be created to serve contemporary needs; where modifications are necessary, they should be made. The creation of new modes of social thought and behavior is an essential aspect of the adjustment principle of modern education.

Thus far the adjustment function has been thought of in relation to man's physical and social environment. This is far too narrow a view of the adjustment function of education.

Man is not only a social being in a physical world, important as that phase of his life is; he does not find all or even his greatest satisfactions in life in the realm of the material, man also has profound spiritual aspirations—"Man shall not live by bread alone." One needs only to give consideration to the history of the thought-life of the race to find how extensively man has philosophized on the nature of the cosmos and his relationship to it. It is important for education to recognize the tremendous significance of man's view of the cosmos and his acceptance of his relationship to it, for social thought and behavior.

It is unfortunate if the individual reaches maturity without being able to recognize and identify himself with any great spiritual forces in the universe. Too often he has not been able to recognize any great cosmic forces that give purpose, meaning, and a timeless quality to life. For such a one his adjustments must remain inadequate and his spiritual integration with his world incomplete.

What is the task of education in society? The definition of education accepted as basic for our consideration has given an emphasis on the adjustment function in the direction of individual and group goals. It is clear that the over-all educational task in any society has been, and in the future will be, to make oncoming generations acceptable functioning members of the group of which they are a part. This task involves, broadly, the achievement of a threefold purpose. The general pattern of behavior approved by the culture in question must be fully understood by the youthful neophyte; he must know what the rules to which he is expected to conform are. Whatever the group philosophy of society is, the learner must understand if his adjustments are to be effective. *Knowing or understanding*, then, of the approved cultural environmental behavior patterns of the group is one basic purpose of education in any society.

A second important educational purpose of society is to insure that every individual in the group acquires those *skills* which will enable him to achieve efficient adjustments to the approved behavior patterns demanded of him. As society has taken on the characteristics of civilization, it has become evi-

dent that the skills required for successful adjustment have become more numerous and more complex.

Still a third aspect of the educational task of society is to insure that it has inculcated in youth the approved attitudes of the group. It is important that every member of the group share the prevailing aspirations and ideals of the culture. The importance of group loyalties has been recognized in all ages among all peoples; primitive man recognized the unity of the clan or tribe as the first essential to group safety. The efforts to create national loyalties for the group and its way of life among modern nations attest its recognized place in the educational program of contemporary society.

What is the task of education in a democracy? The specific task of education in any given culture will depend upon the basic philosophy of life and government held by the particular group in question. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, to distinguish clearly between the task of education based upon the democratic philosophy of life and government and its opposite. At no point should it be forgotten that the over-all nature and purpose of education remains the same irrespective of the type of society for which it is utilized. The emphasis, both as to functions and purpose, may vary greatly. In fact these differences of emphasis are of the utmost significance when we try to think clearly about the task of education in a democratic society.

Often the best way to see a specific task clearly is to do so by the method of contrast. This is of particular value as we try to understand the task of education in our democracy because of the challenges democracy has received in recent years. The two forms of life and government seeking supremacy in our world today are democracy and authoritarianism, sometimes identified with totalitarianism. America has stood as the exemplar of the democratic ideal in life and government. In contrast the former governments of Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini exemplified the authoritarian conception of life and government.

The adjustment function is considered basic in education for both democratic and authoritarian types of society. The nature and direction of the emphasis, however, differ significantly.

cantly; in fact, the difference amounts almost to an insuperable gulf between them. In an authoritarian form of society one or a few determine what the goals of the society shall be and what behavior patterns are to be approved and followed by the people. All major activities are determined by the one or few at the top, and any changes in the behavior patterns for that type of society come as a fiat decision from the acknowledged head of the group. It is not expected or permitted that such decisions should be questioned. Automatic unquestioned obedience to decrees is the ideal in such a society. It is clear that adaptation is the major role of education in an authoritarian society. The individual is considered to be an ideally behaving member of the group when he is able to adapt himself most completely and quickly to the environment as he finds it. He is most likely to receive specific instructions as to the approved manner of adaptation as well. It is unimportant that he does not know why he behaves as he does except that he understands it is expected of him. The reconstruction function of education has no place in a truly authoritarian society. Change and the form it should take are the sole prerogatives of the one or few in authority.

Contrast this with the adjustment functions in a democratic society. In a democratic society one individual is the equal or peer of every other member of the group. Along with his fellow members he determines the nature of the social environment and, to some extent, the physical environment in which he is to live. He, likewise, must accept similar responsibility for any environmental reconstruction that takes place. Under these circumstances the adaptive function of education is a matter of great importance. Necessary adaptations must be made. The difference is, and this difference is fundamental, that in a democracy the individual has some latitude in the matter of whether in every situation where adaptation is desirable but not a necessity, he will do so or not, or do so only in part. He is largely free to choose the manner of such adaptation within the limits imposed by the nature of the required adaptation. In the area of reconstruction the adjustment function of education in a democracy assumes primary importance. Unless the citizen is fully competent to determine the need for, the nature

of, and the manner in which the reconstruction of the environment should take place, serious shortcomings are likely to accrue to that society. There is, in the last analysis, no one else upon whom the responsibility may devolve. Unless the individual citizen within a democracy is capable of intelligent reconstruction of his environment, progress is stymied. The development of competencies for reconstruction, then, is a vital part of the educational process in a democracy. It is, if anything, more important than the adaptive function.

By the same token the threefold purpose of education is as different when applied to authoritarian and democratic societies as in the case of the adjustment function. *Understanding* as an educational goal in authoritarianism is strictly limited to the bare awareness that certain behavior patterns are expected of the individual. It is not considered in the best interest of the vested authority that the reasons for, or even the basic nature of, these behavior patterns should be understood. The less the person knows about any other environment than the one he is in, the better. It is also undesirable that he should be aware of other possible ways of adjustment within his environmental situation. At least, he should not understand that there might be anything meritorious in another form of adjustment. In a democracy it is considered an educational "must" that the citizen should achieve the largest measure of understanding possible about his environment, the nature of the society of which he is a part, as well as of all other forms of society experienced by man. It is the purpose of education to insure to him the fullest understanding of the nature of the environmental adjustments possible so that intelligent decisions in the interest of himself and the group may be made.

The same basic difference exists with respect to the acquisition of *skills* and *attitudes*. Authoritarianism is interested in a limited number of specific skills adequate only for the particular purpose required. The ideal is to tie the achievement of adaptive skills to a limited number of environmental situations. Too much freedom of action through the possession of too many adaptive skills is frowned upon by authoritarian societies. The converse is true of a democracy: here it is highly desirable that the individual possess many adaptive skills.

Further, it is desired that every citizen acquire broad social skills as well as vocational skills that may have wide application in complex environmental situations. The widest educational differences between authoritarianism and democracy appears in relationship to the development of *attitudes*. Authoritarianism is concerned only with the development of uncompromising and unquestioning attitudes of loyalty to the existing society. Its education is directed toward the inculcation of blind loyalties to the existing authority, whatever it is. It discourages the development of thoughtful, reasoned patriotism. Democracy, on the other hand, holds as the educational ideal that attitudes should be reasoned, as far as possible, and at least intelligent. It does expect its citizen to develop attitudes of loyalty to the democratic way of life. These attitudes will be achieved primarily by the individual's study of the relative merits of democracy versus other forms of group life. The educational basis of all attitudes is assumed to be the inherent values for the individual and the group implicit or resident within the behavior pattern or object toward which it is desired to inculcate a favorable attitude.

How is the task of the school related to other educative agencies?

What are the non-school educational agencies? When the average person speaks of education, he immediately thinks of the school. It is but natural that he should do so; in his general reading and in his direct experience with the formal processes of education the school has represented education. It is necessary to recognize that the school must see itself in relation to other important educative agencies. The importance of these other agencies of educative influence has been well expressed by Counts:

The school is but one among many educational agencies and forces of society. . . . During the pre-school age his education is largely in the hands of his parents; during the period of school attendance the home, the playground, the theatre, the church, and the community perpetually engage his attention; and after his school days are over, shop, factory, club, civic organization, and political party exercise increasing dominion over

him. . . . Consequently, anyone who constructs a program of education on the assumption that the school is the only important institution and that the highly specialized character of its educational contribution need not be considered, is building on the sands. Only as the school recognizes the work of other institutions can it perform its own functions effectively.⁴

Throughout the previous discussion in this book education has been thought of in its widest possible ramifications. From this point on we shall think of education primarily in relationship to some agency that gives it conscious direction although the broader aspects of education must be kept in mind. This approach to the problem of education is well expressed in a report from a committee of which Thomas H. Briggs was chairman in these words:

"Education" as the term is used in this discussion, implies every phase of the process by which society as a whole, or any of its agencies, consciously seeks to develop socially significant abilities and characteristics in its members.⁵

The problems of education can be solved only by a realistic consideration of all the agencies of society that consciously attempt to influence the thought and behavior of the citizen. Some of the most important of the non-school agencies will be briefly considered.

THE HOME: Historically the home antedates all other institutional agencies concerned with the education of the child. In early society it assumed major responsibility for the development of those qualities in the individual which made him a valuable working member of the group. It taught him how to get along with others, to share the responsibilities of the family group, to know and respect the elemental rules laid down by the family and the larger social group of which the family was a part. It was here he first learned group loyalties. The simple skills of communication necessary for social intercourse were gotten through the home. The elementary voca-

⁴Counts, George S., "The Foundations of Curriculum Building," *Twenty-sixth Yearbook of The National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1926, p. 75.

⁵Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, *Issues of Secondary Education*, Vol. 20, No. 59, p. 24. Bulletin of the Department of Secondary-School Principals. Chicago: National Education Association, January, 1936.

tional skills essential to a livelihood were the product of home education.

Although many other agencies have come to compete with the educational activities of the home, it has remained a primary, if not the most important, educational agency of society. The serious changes taking place in our world today, it was indicated, are seriously curtailing the older educational activities of the home. Modern modes of travel, a change from rural to urban life, the pull of modern economic life, the tendency to find our entertainment outside the home are some of the forces disintegrating the home as the educational center of bygone days. Nonetheless the home still remains a vital force in the early education of the child. It is still in the home that he learns the rudiments of the spoken language and gains no little effectiveness in its use. It is here that rudimentary socialization takes place, so that he early acquires those important social skills that enable him to make the major adjustments to the rules of society and thus become a tolerated, if not always an accepted, member of the community. The degree of freedom from adjustment handicaps the child finds himself, as he tries to face the world about him, depends largely upon the educational effectiveness of the home. As far as the future can be foreseen the home will remain a vital factor at least in the early formative period of the individual's life.

THE CHURCH: Next to the home in historical importance as an educational agency stands the church. At times in history it has appeared to rival the home in importance as an educational agency. Certainly, side by side, these two institutions for centuries complemented each other educationally and provided the principal direct education afforded the child.

Religion is universal; the desire to give expression to his religious impulses appears to be an inherent characteristic of man. Very early in human history, side by side with the home, the institution of religion, familiarly known in our western culture as the church, was set up. It became the center of religious worship and the source of instruction in religion. As time passed, the church tended to extend the range of its instructional activities to include those areas of educational need not

provided for by the home or which the church seemed better able to supplement. In some cultures the institutions of religion are the principal agencies of formal education. In America only a few religious groups attempt to provide elaborate general educational opportunities in addition to their programs of religious instruction. At the present time about 10 per cent of the elementary children and about 9 per cent of the secondary youths of America are receiving formal, full-time educational instruction in church-provided schools. Practically all churches, however, sponsor some type of college education. The church as a whole in the United States has not attempted to compete with the public school in general education. It has given its major attention to the aspects of worship and instruction in religion as its primary responsibility.

It should not for a moment be assumed that the church is no longer an important educational agency; it has always maintained that religion is concerned with the well-being of society. It is a way of life as well as a system of beliefs held by the devoted worshiper. Consequently, the practice of religion involves also a standard and quality of living. Conduct is regarded as very important as an outward expression of religion. Ethical relationships, therefore, are important in the expression of religious ideals. Religion, it may be recognized at once, is vitally concerned with the social quality of man's behavior as well as of his thinking. Church groups vary in their emphasis upon these aspects of religion but all accept the quality of man's behavior as well as his beliefs as aspects of religion. Like the home, the church has not maintained its older place of importance in America as an agency of education. Many of the same forces that have rendered the home less vital as an educational medium have affected the church. With respect to the church it should be quite clear that, to the extent that religion is regarded as valuable to society, the church must remain an important educational agency. The historic principle of separation of church and state in America makes the teaching of specific religious doctrine the responsibility of the church.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS: Many organizations found in our communities today are important educational agencies. Held in high repute in almost every good sized community are

such well-known organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Hi-Y, the Demolays, Job's Daughters, 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, and similar youth groups. These organizations subject their members to expressions of high idealism and provide opportunities by which these expressions of high personal and social purpose may be translated into appropriate behavior patterns. All are familiar with the Boy Scout slogan "Do a good turn every day." Such organizations provide the satisfaction of youths' desire for association with those of their own age in a common bond of social interest and purpose. It would be difficult to overemphasize the socializing values of these organizations; they provide the means by which leadership may be discovered and developed. Self-reliance, initiative, the ability to work easily and effectively with others, and many other social competencies may be expected as the educational by-product of such organizational activity.

Fortunately, many of these organizations maintain most cordial relations with the schools. Such organizations as the Hi-Y and the 4-H Clubs find their principal base of operation in the school. The school has provided a friendly atmosphere in which the Boy and Girl Scouts can work as a center of their activities. Often the school staff has contributed the adult leadership for particular troop scoutmasters. The type of leadership provided these organizations has brought to them much of their educational ideals and permeated them with the best in educational procedures.

THE GOVERNMENT: Here is an educational agency not often thought of in this capacity. The U.S. Government is one of the most prolific producers of valuable books, pamphlets, and documents of various kinds. The schools have made extensive use of government bulletins and pamphlets of all types. Mothers' clubs, for example, have made extensive use of such government materials as those available through the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor on such subjects as Prenatal Care, Infant Care, Child Management, and many others. There is not an area of major interest from home to farm to business to professions, and practically every phase of civic or cultural life, but what some department of the national govern-

ment is prepared to give assistance through its prepared materials or direct counsel.

The government likewise maintains many bureaus and departments with extensive research sections to collect valuable data or carry on valuable experiments not practical or possible for the individual citizen. All these data are available to any individual or group. Conferences and institutes on many problems are sponsored by governmental agencies, such as the well-known White House Conferences on vital social problems.

Not only the federal government but state governmental agencies provide similar educational services though oftentimes they are less extensive. These services range all the way from the issuance of bulletins and pamphlets to conferences and institutes on important problems. Personal counsel is particularly a feature of the smaller divisions of government.

THE PRESS: The Press, like the remaining non-school agencies to be considered, may not be regarded as an institutional agency in the same sense as we think of the home, church, community organizations, or the government. By contrast it is, for the most part, a medium for channeling ideas. Commercial publishing companies, in the main, are not so much concerned with the nature of the ideas presented in the materials they publish as they are that the ideas therein are of broad enough interest and so expressed as to insure large sale of their products. The newspaper fraternity loudly insists that outside the editorial page they are solely concerned that all the available news is objectively reported without bias or distortion.

The growth of the press over the past half century has been tremendous. It is sufficient here, however, to recognize the press as a major purveyor of ideas to young and old. Reading is a major pastime of both youth and age. In one state-wide study of the reading practices of youth it was found that for boys reading ranked second in their leisure-time activities and for girls it was first. The boys devoted approximately 17 per cent and the girls 35 per cent of their leisure time to reading.*

*For more details on the reading habits of youth see Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*, Chap. 5. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938; Eckert, Ruth E., and Marshall, Thomas O., *When Youth Leave School*, Chap. V. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

The powerful influence that must be the result of so much reading on the thinking of youth cannot be lightly ignored. It would not be so bad if the quality of much of the reading material were educationally good, but a check of the average newsstand will reveal that it is not. The studies of reading habits further reveal that much of the reading done is of a quality that has little positive educational value. Much of it must be considered negative in its social influence. Much of the popular materials that deal with the contemporary social scene are likely to be distorted and biased. This bias and distortion are frequently pointed for definite propaganda purposes. An interesting comment on this point comes from a newspaper editor addressing a university group on the question of the freedom of the press:

I know of publishers, honorable men, who cast out of their shop patently dishonest advertising, yet their front pages are a mass of dishonest eight-column streamers nearly every day. Some papers feel the compulsion to propagate their owner's social, political and economic ideas in their news columns, unaware that freedom should include freedom of news from color or distortion.⁷

This is all the more serious when the nature of the controls of much of our news press and magazines is understood. For some time our newspapers have been passing into the hands of powerful individuals or groups. Many communities have, in fact, the services of one daily paper though these cities have many newspapers with different names. There is a growing trend for these powerful owners to establish news monopolies. The press has become big business: it is backed by large aggregations of wealth; it is maintained, particularly the newspapers and magazines, by huge revenues from the advertising of large business concerns. The natural inclination and interest of owners and advertisers is conservatism in social, economic, and political outlook; their tendency is to be allergic to any indication of contrary thinking. The danger arises from the possible misuse of this semi-public channel of necessary and legitimate news and interchange of thought for distortion of the news, vicious one-sided propaganda, or both.

⁷Statement by James S. Pope quoted in *Time*, 51:58, January 26, 1948.

It is important to a democracy that the press be jealously guarded as the first bulwark of freedom and the democratic way of life. Its right to dispense news and ideas must be conditioned always on its demonstrated care to see that news is complete and free from distortion, and that pertinent ideas of whatever shade of social, economic, and political belief are given equal opportunity to challenge the best thinking of every citizen. This is the essence of democracy.

THE RADIO: Much of what has been said with respect to the press can be said of the radio. It is not a generation old but already it is a mighty force for the dissemination of ideas and the molding of thought. Radios are now in almost every home. Child and adult use it in their leisure time. The habit of tuning in the radio for news or some favorite program while at work is quite common. The housewife or the indoor worker engaged in manipulative skills often finds it enjoyable and profitable to listen to the radio program.

The educational value of this medium of communication appears at this moment almost unlimited. Unfortunately, much of what one hears is of dubious educational value. It requires time for any new device to be fully exploited. Up to the present the radio has been greatly handicapped in rendering its most effective educational service because it is being commercially exploited. Radio service is expensive to provide. At present it is being provided largely through the advertisers. Its widespread use by school systems and universities is suggestive of noncommercial possibilities. This is a challenge to us to devise ways of opening the radio wave channels to more significant educational purposes through less dependence upon advertising as a means of support.

Many values of the press are duplicated in the radio, but the color and power of the spoken voice is now added. Important addresses can be heard without abbreviation. Debates, conferences, and similar gatherings of great moment in the formulation of public opinion can be made available over the radio. To the humblest home now may come the strains of the world's great symphonies or the best from the modern composers; the leading singers and the best bands may be heard almost at will either in a personal broadcast or through re-

cordings. This gives promise of raising the general level of music appreciation in America, if means can be found to reduce the volume of inferior music now produced for the radio.

The same dangers inherent in the present situation with respect to the press are to be found in the radio. The costliness of radio maintenance for broadcasting has forced its development to become dependent upon the availability of large financial resources. For the most part, individuals and financial groups have sponsored the radio for much the same purpose as they have the press. Thus far government regulatory bodies have tried to cope with some of the most serious problems that naturally arise where such a device is sponsored on a competitive commercial basis.

THE MOTION PICTURE: Slightly older than the radio, the motion picture is another possible medium of great educational value. It is unfortunate that with millions of attendants each week at the neighborhood theater the movies have offered so little. Except for the news broadcast feature which highlights many of the spectacular news events, the average movie offers little of educational significance.

The motion picture could be a tremendous educational force. Outside of the commercial entertainment area the motion picture has demonstrated great educational possibilities. Industrial organizations have used the motion picture to visualize for their workers skill processes which make easier the acquisition of particular skills. The army and navy made extensive use of the visual aid feature of the movie to speed up the war training program. Community farm groups have utilized the motion picture to visualize for the farmer more efficient and economical ways to produce crops, care for livestock and improve the living environment. Other community groups have utilized the movie just as effectively to promote more sanitary living conditions, general community betterment conditions, or for the serious or pleasurable study of other cultures. The educational possibilities of the motion picture are legion. There is every reason to believe that the use of the motion picture will increase rapidly now that so many youths have had a chance to sense its possibilities through wartime contacts.

What are the functions of the school in relation to the non-

school educational agencies? The educational worker needs to be reminded frequently that the school is not the only educative agency in our society, although it may be the most important one. At the same time it should be kept in mind with equal clarity that in our democratic society the school is the one agency charged with particular responsibility for the educational welfare of the nation's children and youths. Some people have maintained that the sole function of the school is a residual one, that whatever educational activities, in short, the non-school agencies are neglecting or have ceased to carry on should become the responsibility of the school. There is no doubt but that the school in some measure does have a residual function.⁹ But the school in our democratic society is charged with more inclusive and dynamic functions.

Three important elements in the total educational situation must be borne in mind in any effort to determine the general functions of the school in relation to the non-school educative agencies: (1) the nature of the educational task in our democratic society; (2) the nature of the pupil to be educated; (3) the nature of the educational activities carried on by non-school groups. These, it will be remembered, have already received extended consideration.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL FUNCTION: The home and usually the church, where it has a contact, come in touch with the child long before the school. They have made far-reaching contributions to the behavior and attitude patterns of the child at a very tender age. In fact, some of these acquirements are likely to be deep seated before the child comes in contact with the school.

With respect to these important personal-social skills and attitudes possessed, when the child first enters school none of them is fully developed. It is the task of the school to continue with the development of those fundamental skills and attitudes in the direction best suited to serve the needs of the child and of society. Likewise, it is important for the school to think of the continued influence of home and church upon the child

⁹For a more detailed discussion of the residual function of the school see Espy, Herbert G., *The Public Secondary School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939, pp. 438-439.

during the years it shares with them an educational influence upon the child. There are many important educational activities that will be carried on by these non-school agencies. The school should be fully aware of their nature and extent so that the school program can be adjusted accordingly.

The many significant changes taking place in our world today are gravely affecting the functioning of these agencies. The school should be alert to any consequent modification of their educational activities. Scores of worth-while educational activities which once were associated with the home, for example, no longer exist. It is the responsibility of the school to see that types of learning experiences (not the same activities) no longer available through these institutions, but still regarded as of general significance to society, shall not be lost to the child. Many activities with their learning experiences that at one time were educationally worth while have been dropped by these agencies. Our life of today would not warrant their revival nor the particular personal or social skills they were designed to develop. On the other hand, forces of changing circumstances have led to the elimination of many learning experiences that still have important educative values. The provision of learning experiences with the same educative values but cast in the molds of contemporary life situations should be a supplementary function of the schools.

THE CORRECTIVE FUNCTION: Not all the influences of the non-school educative agencies are educationally good. Unfortunately, some of these influences are definitely antisocial in their effects and do not contribute to the achievement of desirable personal skills. In the home, for example, negligence or lack of exemplary behavior on the part of the parents may result in the lack of the usual social amenities or courtesies expected of normal children of school age. Lack of elementary hygienic practices or instruction in the home often sends to the school smelly, unkempt children with filthy clothing, infested with vermin, and often with contagious diseases likely to endanger the health of others. For these the usual health rules are neither practiced nor understood. In one prosperous rural community a recent health examination of each child and high school youth in the school revealed an almost unbelievable

condition of neglect of the more simple health safeguards the homes should have had attended to before school age. The school has been hesitant to attack these health problems vigorously because of a belief that this was largely in the educational domain of the home. The school is now beginning to recognize the legitimacy of its corrective function in these matters when they are neglected by the home.

Similar problems arise where illiterate or careless parents allow bad language usage habits to develop and unsocial behavior to be practiced. Children from such homes bring very serious handicaps to school with them. Where unsocial behavior is involved, equally serious impacts on the moral life of the other pupils may result. The school has a difficult task in assisting the handicapped child to overcome his poor language habits. It has an even more difficult task in any attempt to correct the patterns of unsocial behavior already established and the equally unsocial habits of thinking that give rise to the conduct. Sometimes it means the correction of misinformation, at other times possibly the changing of wrong attitudes. The school has long recognized this corrective function as legitimately its province. With the mounting evidence that much of these serious corrective problems arises from disorganized homes or those in the process of dissolution, thoughtful school people are beginning to question whether this corrective function does not carry the school's responsibility in part back to the source of the difficulty. It is clear that the school, through the educative process, must assume more and more responsibility for the correction of the educational failures of the non-school agencies.

THE PREVENTIVE FUNCTION: It is necessary to correct faulty education resulting from the activities of the non-school educative agencies. There is general agreement among educators that it is of far more importance, however, to prevent, where possible, such maleducation from taking place. It is much easier to establish correct habits of thought and action in the initial period of the learning process; it is exceedingly difficult to modify or completely eliminate the bad effects of unsocial attitudes and behavior patterns once they are developed. The school knows well from its own experiences that

maleducation often takes years to correct and frequently leaves permanent scars. No better example of the importance of this function seems readily at hand than the problem of the re-education of Germany which confronts the Allies. The attempt to correct the maleducation of the Nazi régime is recognized as a monumental one. Many argue that there is little use to try to change the attitudes and ideals instilled in the present generation of young men and women through their formative school years; it is urged that major attention should be given to the children and youths not seriously indoctrinated with Nazi ideologies.

The steadily growing number of agencies and forces that exert an influence upon the attitudes, ideals, and behavior of youth and age has become a matter of deep concern to thoughtful educators. Much thought has been given to the prevention of possible maleducation at its source. This clearly appears to be a primary responsibility of the agency charged by our society with its educational welfare. It is a task the school must address itself to in the future with much greater vigor than it has in the past. It cannot, of course, do this alone. The school must be the source of leadership in creating an awareness of the problem, suggesting the means of prophylaxis and, to a large degree, it must become the instrumentality for its achievement.

THE INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION: Students of modern education give much weight to the idea that to secure the most effective learning results there should be a unity of educational impact upon the learner from all the sources of his learning experiences. If this is to be achieved there must be some way to integrate, to coordinate the work of the school and non-school agencies in so far as they provide learning experiences for children and youth. It is very disconcerting for the youthful learner to discover at times that important and respected institutional agencies do not share the same ideals of social behavior or do not seem to maintain the same attitudes toward issues of human concern, either social, economic, or political. These agencies often do not utilize or approve the same methods in propagating or advancing their respective ideas and purposes. The lack of coordination or integration of the over-

all thinking, activities, and purposes may result in negative educational results.

There is quite general agreement that the educative work of these agencies should be better integrated. But how is it to be done and by whom? In an earlier period of our history the church served as the principal integrator of the educative agencies in existence. But that is now out of the question. The church is not as much a common denominator in the lives of our people as it once was, it comes in touch with less than half the population; nor can the home be that common denominator. Outside the school these are the only educative agencies that might even lay claim to consideration. On the other hand, the school touches every community and practically every home in a vital way. It carries a virtual mandate as the responsible agency of education to exercise this function.

THE CUSTODIAL FUNCTION: This is a very important function of the school in our democratic society, in fact, it has been an important function of the school in almost every society. In many cultures the primary function of the school has been that of conservator of the traditions of the particular nation in question. For the preservation of certain types of social and spiritual-religious values of our heritage the home and the church have assumed the role of most jealous custodians. We are debtors to the past for many achievements that enrich our lives; we need only mention here our highly structured language systems and the highly developed systems of number and symbols of quantitative thinking. The student can catalogue these contributions from the past *ad infinitum*, but it should be remembered that not everything in the history of the past has value for today.

The custodial function of the school in America, however, is unique. As a democracy is unique so must be the task of the school. Whereas the school of an authoritarian society must be concerned primarily with the preservation of the *status quo*, the transmission of the thinking and behavior patterns of the past, the schools of a democracy must be concerned primarily with the preservation of the broad ideals of that society. The task of the democratic school becomes one of inculcating in the child the ideals of a way of life rather than a specific rote way

of thinking and behaving so essential to an authoritarian society. This does not mean that the school in America is indifferent to our so-called cultural heritage. The school has concern with the preservation of the past only in so far as the past contributes to the solution of our problems of today and tomorrow, within the framework of our unique form of society. Since the basis of the democratic ideal is the search for better ways to give expression to its way of life, the school must ever assert the principles of freedom and the obligations of society to study critically, experiment with, and change society's customs, conventions, and *mores*, when these are necessary to achieve the ideals of democracy more completely.

THE CREATIVE FUNCTION: Some non-school agencies are conservative in outlook and are reluctant to change; they tend to cling to the past and are inclined to be reactionary in attitude. At times they become so enamored with the old that they confuse and identify the virtues of their objectives or ideals with an obsolete rule regarded as sacrosanct. Other agencies are on the alert for newer ways of doing things, often without too much consideration of the end results for the good or ill of society. As a result, these agencies with such divergent outlooks frequently are consciously or unconsciously in conflict with each other. Little creative direction can be expected from these quarters.

In a world of dynamic change such as ours today, democracy must be alive to the effects of these changes upon the possible means of achieving its goals. It is also necessary to be fully aware that, as experience ripens, it is often discovered that the meaning with which we clothed the ideal of democracy has undergone some modification: the ideal has taken on enriched meaning and requires some reconstruction, however slight. The twenty amendments to our Constitution clearly reveal this truth.

The school is the agency best suited for this creative function. The school must not only zealously guard the principle that a democracy should be free to change its rules in the interest of its own betterment, but also it has a definite responsibility to help society develop the "know how" to be constructively creative. Our democratic society must be aware of the dynamic

changes taking place in the world today, and should be fully conscious of the possible implications for itself of these changes. The school has the further responsibility of creating in youth an aggressive alertness for more effective ways of achieving the basic ideals of our democracy. There are many who maintain that the creative function of the school goes beyond this; they insist that it is the duty of the school to sense the significance for our society of changes now taking place, to determine in some detail what our democracy would be like if it were brought into harmony with these changes, and then decide quite clearly the rules for the achievement of this utopia. This is the position of the "reconstructionist" in educational philosophy. Whether the educational worker is ready to accept the full import of the "reconstructionist" point of view or not, there can be no question but that the school in our society must in the future accept responsibility for a more dynamic creative function than it has in the past.

THE STIMULATIVE INSPIRATIONAL FUNCTION: The various functions of the school cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of frigid intellectualism. Much of the failure of education in the past can be laid to neglect of the emotional nature of man. In fact, the strongest claim to educational effectiveness some of the non-school educational agencies have is their appeal to man's emotions: the appeal to sight and imagination through color, pageantry, and stirring action, and to the ear through music and voice appeal has given the sound "movie" a tremendous hold on youth. The same appeal to emotion is a powerful factor in the hold that character-building organizations have had upon youth. To a lesser extent the church has also used the appeal to the emotions.

The school must acknowledge the truth of the statement attributed to the late G. Stanley Hall that "man is a speck afloat on a sea of feeling." If it is to carry its functions through effectively, the intellectual elements must be shot through with emotional warmth and color. Certainly the atmosphere in which the creative function is realized must be heavily permeated with emotional coloration. In a sense it will be necessary for the school to compete with and excel the non-school agencies in emotional appeal if it is to exercise its proper place

of leadership in the coordinative, corrective, preventative, and creative functions. The school must stimulate an emotional loyalty for democracy in the citizen along with an intelligent understanding of its true meaning. Youths particularly should leave the school strongly motivated to sustain by every means the democratic way of life.

THE EVALUATIVE FUNCTION: Finally, the school must assume the major role of evaluator of the total educational impact of all agencies of society on the life and thought of the citizen—young or old. It must evaluate also the competency of its own exercise of the functions charged to the school. Only when an over-all appraisal is obtained can the school determine the educational influence of each agency and the part the school has played in relation thereto.

This does not mean that the school alone must bear the burden of the task of evaluation. Modern education suggests that the best evaluation is obtained when all the interested parties participate. The process itself can be made a valuable educative experience for the agencies involved. At the same time the school can, through this shared experience, discharge some of the functions committed to it.

What is the task of the school in a democratic society?

A consideration of the purposes of education has occupied an important place in our educational literature.* The extent of these discussions of educational purpose is indicative of their recognized importance. The necessity of awareness and acceptance of a set of purposes or objectives to guide the school in its educational task is taken for granted. To consume time and space to urge the key place of purposes in education would seem laboring the obvious. At the same time it is doubtful whether any other phase of the total problem of education is less well understood by the rank and file educational worker. Consequently, it is not surprising that statements of educational purpose have had relatively little effect upon the work

*The terms purpose, aim, or objective will be used interchangeably in this book without effort to differentiate among them in meaning. There is virtually no attempt in contemporary educational literature to distinguish in meaning between these terms.

of the ordinary school and classroom. The acceptance of these statements of purpose or their formulation by the school worker too often has not meant the translation of these purposes into action. This has resulted because those who were supposed to apply these purposes or objectives to the educational process did not understand clearly their meaning or importance.

For this reason a conscious effort has been made in this book to precede a direct discussion of the purposes of education by such basic considerations as those of the nature of democracy, the nature of the learner, and the nature of the world in which the learner must live. It is out of this milieu that educational purposes must be derived.

There have been many lists of purposes or objectives for the school prepared by individuals or organizational groups. A few of the more important lists will be presented to indicate the nature of these statements and to suggest the varied approaches used in their formulation.

HERBERT SPENCER (1859): The following statement of purposes is used because Herbert Spencer, one of England's great educational scholars, was one of the first modern educational writers to think of education in terms of the full orbit of "complete living." He set forth the over-all purpose in a now famous essay, "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth," in these words:

How to live?—that is the essential question for us. . . . In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilize all those sources of happiness which nature supplies—how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others—how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare for complete living is the function which education has to discharge. . . . It behooves us to set before ourselves, and ever to keep clearly in view, complete living as the end to be achieved; so that in bringing up our children we may choose subjects and methods of instruction with deliberate reference to this end.¹⁰

¹⁰Spencer, Herbert, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1861, pp. 11-12.

Spencer then suggested that to evaluate how well this general purpose was achieved every effort should be made "to classify, in the order of their importance, the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life." This classification of life needs and activities in turn would become the basis for the determination of the major objectives of education. Spencer's classification, presented in order of importance as judged by him, was:

1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation. (Health—Safety)
2. Those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation. (Vocation)
3. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring. (Family)
4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations. (Citizenship)
5. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings. (Leisure time)¹¹

It was Spencer's conviction that education should be functional—that it should help all people of whatever walk of life to discharge more effectively the daily duties of life. The five categories of life activities which Spencer proposed actually became the major purposes of education, for which the schools should seek to prepare all children and youth. In Spencer's day most of the activities suggested in the five categories above were not emphasized in the schools of England; in fact, some were entirely neglected. To emphasize the absurdity of the neglect of these necessary types of educational activities, Spencer makes this observation on the neglect of any preparation for family life:

We now come to the third great division of human activities—a division for which no preparation whatever is made. . . . Is it not an astonishing fact that though on the treatment of offspring depend their lives or deaths, and their moral welfare or ruin; yet not one word of instruc-

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

tion on the treatment of offspring is ever given to those who will hereafter be parents? Is it not monstrous that the fate of a new generation should be left to the chances of unreasoning custom, impulse, fancy?¹²

The student of education interested in the development of a more functional type of educational program for the schools of our country may well study the educational proposals of Spencer. Written almost a century ago, these suggestions for the purposes of education have value for us today. It is only within this generation that the basic plan for the discovery of functional objectives suitable for the schools of a democratic society has found a sympathetic following in American education.

FRANKLIN BOBBITT (1924, 1941): The most thoroughgoing disciple of the Spencerian idea that the purposes of education should be derived from an analysis of the activities of man's life has undoubtedly been Franklin Bobbitt. He has done more than any other man in American education to popularize this idea. His point of view is made unmistakably clear in these words:

When we know what men and women ought to do along the many lines and levels of human experience, then we shall have before us the things for which they should be trained. The first task is to discover the activities which ought to make up the lives of men and women; and along with these, the abilities and personal qualities necessary for proper performance. These are the educational objectives. The plan to be employed is activity-analysis. . . . At all stages of the analysis, attention should be fixed upon the actual activities of mankind.¹³

Through the use of extensive surveys of the actual activities engaged in by persons in all walks of life in many communities and the pooling of the judgments of thousands of people as to what they thought were desirable activities of people in all aspects of normal life, Bobbitt determined what he considered the actual and desirable activities of a normally functioning

¹²Spencer, Herbert, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1862, pp. 40-41.

¹³Bobbitt, Franklin, *How to Make a Curriculum*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, p. 8.

person. These activities were classified in broad functional categories; the ten areas of human activities suggested were:

1. Language activities; social intercommunication
2. Health activities
3. Citizenship activities
4. General social activities—meeting and mingling with others
5. Spare time activities, amusements, recreations
6. Keeping one's self mentally fit—analogous to the health activities of keeping one's self physically fit
7. Religious activities
8. Parental activities, the upbringing of children, the maintenance of a proper home life
9. Unspecialized or non-vocational practical activities
10. The labors of one's calling¹⁴

These ten areas of activities become, in turn, the major objectives of education. Bobbitt points out "the two are cognate, but not identical." He therefore justifies their use together in this way. These major objectives are further broken down into scores of specific objectives. Bobbitt's ten objectives had wide usage for many years. The activity analysis technique basic to the determination of these objectives had extensive vogue during the twenties and early thirties. Later Bobbitt enlarged his ten areas to eighteen and labeled them "The Areas of the Good Life." This second list, less well known, is essentially the original ten areas further subdivided.¹⁵

The fact that both Spencer and Bobbitt thought of these activities in relation to adult life is important. It is characteristic of most lists of objectives or attempts at activity analysis, up until recent years, that they have been based upon what adults do or what the needs of adults are thought to be. The preparation for the long period of adult life—"the fifty years of adult life"—as Bobbitt asserts, is certainly the major responsibility of the school. However, modern education emphasizes the centrality of childhood and youth experiences as the media of education. Objectives, then, should be based upon

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. To see the way Bobbitt developed long lists of related objectives for each of the ten major areas of activities or objectives see pp. 11-31.

¹⁵Bobbitt, Franklin, *The Curriculum of Modern Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941, pp. 6-8.

both an analysis of the activities childhood and youth must engage in as adults and the activities they do engage in at present. Today we recognize that the process of growing up involves the acquisition of fundamental competencies children and youths need to have in more efficient and complex patterns as adults. The two age groups are not divisible but are a unit.

COMMISSION ON THE REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (1918): The statement of objectives by this Commission is popularly thought of as restricted to the secondary school. They were developed, however, as "the main objectives that should guide education in a democracy."¹⁶ More specifically it was declared, "The objectives outlined above apply to education as a whole—elementary, secondary, and higher." These objectives have a twofold basis for their validity. First, as a statement of a fundamental philosophy of society and education:

Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the idea of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. . . . More explicitly—*The purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and of society as a whole. . . .* For the achievement of these ends democracy must place chief reliance upon education. Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.¹⁷

The second basis for the validity of these objectives was found in the media of their discovery: "In order to determine the main objectives that should guide education in a democracy it is necessary to analyze the activities of the individual."

After some discussion of the implications of this approach, the Commission listed the now famous seven objectives derived by the activity analysis technique:

1. Health
2. Command of fundamental processes

¹⁶*Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 9.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

3. Worthy home-membership
4. Vocation
5. Citizenship
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character¹⁸

A comparison of these objectives with those of Spencer and Bobbitt reveals great similarity. Spencer did not include Nos. 2 and 7; Bobbitt omitted No. 7. It is not so easy to account for the omission of No. 2 by Spencer but the omission of No. 7 by both is understandable. Ethical character in and of itself is not a legitimate objective in the same sense as the others. Many modern educators have rejected "Ethical Character" as an objective. It is a result of the realization of all others and cannot stand alone as a form of activity. It is a tribute to Spencer that his purposes arrived at over half a century before and in another country anticipated so fully those of the Commission and Bobbitt. The basic technique used for their determination as was true of Spencer and Bobbitt was that of activity analysis.

This statement of objectives by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education has had more influence on educational thinking in America than any other statement of objectives formulated to date. This, in part, grows out of the educational significance of the total report of the Commission. The report, one of a series of pronouncements made by Committees of the National Education Association since 1893, completely reversed the trends of education in vogue for over a quarter of a century. These seven objectives grew out of the efforts of the Commission to give realistic arguments for this about-face in educational thinking in America. Because these objectives appeared in the document entitled *Cardinal Principles of Education* they are sometimes erroneously referred to as the "Seven Cardinal Principles of Education."

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GOALS FOR AMERICA (1933): The National Education Association became concerned with the possibilities of a restatement of our educational goals during the early years of the thirties. We were then passing through an unprecedented period of social-economic maladjustment. It seemed desirable to re-explore the adequacy of our educational

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

purposes for conditions like those faced in the nation. A committee appointed in 1931 for the purpose of a restudy of our educational objectives, since called the Committee on Socio-Economic Goals for America, made its report in 1933. They developed a statement of objectives now known as the "Ten Desirable Social-Economic Goals of America."

1. Hereditary strength
2. Physical security
3. Participation in an evolving culture
4. An active, flexible personality
5. Suitable occupation
6. Economic security
7. Mental security
8. Equality of opportunity
9. Freedom
10. Fair play¹⁰

This statement of objectives bases its validity not on the analysis of life activities but on the ideals of our American democracy. These ideals, the Committee believed, were to be found clearly stated in our federal Constitution. They began with the statement of the lofty aspirations found in the preamble and followed it by six other ideals of our democracy to be found in the Constitution:

1. Freedom of worship, speech, and the press
2. The right to petition
3. Impartial trial
4. The sacredness of life and liberty against impairment without due process of law
5. Special privilege to none
6. The opportunity of every individual for the full development of his own capacities unhindered by accidents of birth and social status

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION (1938): The Educational Policies Commission, made up of representatives of the American Association of School Administrators and other members of the National Education Association, in 1935 be-

¹⁰"What Are Desirable Social-Economic Goals for America?" *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23:6-12, January, 1934. See also elaborated discussion of these goals in *Implications of Social-Economic Goals for America*. Washington: National Education Association, 1937.

gan to prepare a statement of educational purposes which was released in 1938.

This statement of objectives is also based on the democratic ideal as found embedded in the Constitution. Against a backdrop of such familiar captions as "the general welfare," "civil liberty," "the consent of the governed," "the appeal to reason," and "the pursuit of happiness," the Commission attempts to set the philosophic standards by which to judge educational purposes for the school. As the Commission stated:

The general end of education in America at the present time is the fullest possible development of the individual within the framework of our present industrialized democratic society. The attainment of this end is to be observed in individual behavior or conduct. . . . Ideals and values derive their entire practical importance from the behavior which results from them.²⁰

The Commission has followed a unique plan, for it has tried to determine "the desirable elements of information, skill, habit, interest and attitude which will most surely promote individual development and encourage democratic ways of living."²¹ The standards of desirable behavior are set against a quality of activity descriptive of "an educated person." Four aspects of educational purpose are identified.

1. The Objectives of Self-Realization
2. The Objectives of Human Relationship
3. The Objectives of Economic Efficiency
4. The Objectives of Civic Responsibility²²

Because there is abundant evidence that this statement of objectives by the Commission does and will continue to have great influence on educational thinking and practice in America, the full list of characteristics of behavior given for the four major groups is presented:

THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

The Inquiring Mind. The educated person has an appetite for learning.

²⁰Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 1938, p. 41.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 42.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 27.

Speech. The educated person can speak the mother tongue clearly.

Reading. The educated person reads the mother tongue efficiently.

Writing. The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.

Number. The educated person solves his problems of counting and calculating.

Sight and Hearing. The educated person is skilled in listening and observing.

Health Knowledge. The educated person understands the basic facts concerning health and disease.

Health Habits. The educated person protects his own health and that of his dependents.

Public Health. The educated person works to improve the health of the community.

Recreation. The educated person is participant and spectator in many sports and other pastimes.

Intellectual Interests. The educated person has mental resources for the use of leisure.

Aesthetic Interests. The educated person appreciates beauty.

Character. The educated person gives responsible direction to his own life.

THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

Respect for Humanity. The educated person puts human relationships first.

Friendships. The educated person enjoys a rich, sincere, and varied social life.

Cooperation. The educated person can work and play with others.

Courtesy. The educated person observes the amenities of social behavior.

Appreciation of the Home. The educated person appreciates the family as a social institution.

Conservation of the Home. The educated person conserves family ideals.

Homemaking. The educated person is skilled in homemaking.

Democracy in the Home. The educated person maintains democratic family relationships.

THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

Work. The educated producer knows the satisfaction of good workmanship.

Occupational Information. The educated producer understands the requirements and opportunities for various jobs.

Occupational Choice. The educated producer has *selected* his occupation.

Occupational Efficiency. The educated producer succeeds in his chosen vocation.

Occupational Adjustment. The educated producer maintains and improves his efficiency.

Occupational Appreciation. The educated producer appreciates the social value of his work.

Personal Economics. The educated consumer plans the economics of his own life.

Consumer Judgment. The educated consumer develops standards for guiding his expenditures.

Efficiency in Buying. The educated consumer is an informed and skillful buyer.

Consumer Protection. The educated consumer takes appropriate measures to safeguard his interests.

THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

Social Justice. The educated citizen is sensitive to the disparities of human circumstance.

Social Activity. The educated citizen acts to correct unsatisfactory conditions.

Social Understanding. The educated citizen seeks to understand social structures and social processes.

Critical Judgment. The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.

Tolerance. The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.

Conservation. The educated citizen has a regard for the nation's resources.

Social Applications of Science. The educated citizen measures scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare.

World Citizenship. The educated citizen is a cooperating member of the world community.

Law Observance. The educated citizen respects the law.

Economic Literacy. The educated citizen is economically literate.

Political Citizenship. The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.

Devotion to Democracy. The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.²³

A study of the examples of objectives given should enable the educational worker to visualize clearly the over-all task of the

²³Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 1938, pp. 50, 72, 90, 108.

school in our democratic society. Particular attention should be given to the purposes of education listed by the three committees of the National Education Association. They are in common agreement in the acceptance of two criteria for the determination of the basic task of the schools of America. First and foremost, they try to determine what the implications of our philosophy of a democratic society are. Two committees seek definite clues to these philosophical ideas of our democracy in the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution. The second criterion is found in an analysis of the activities of the individual who functions effectively in such a democratic society.

It is essential that those associated with the task of the school—educational workers or citizens—recognize that the broad purposes of education must be found in the two basic criteria used by these committees. It is equally important to recognize that the specific techniques used to determine the detail of the philosophical concepts of a democratic society and the appropriate activities of the ideal citizen in harmony therewith may vary greatly. Variations of specific approach are even now being used: there is no one perfect way. Further study of still other desirable criteria and refinements of existing procedures to determine the task of the school in our democratic society more effectively are both the responsibility of, and the challenge to, the beginner in the teaching profession.

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Questions and Problems

1. Think about the reconstructive and the adaptive functions of education and then classify English, sciences, social studies, and the other common subjects under the particular function you think that subject best promotes. Is the conventional curriculum overweighted toward one of the functions?
2. Since your grandparents received no instruction in horse and buggy driving in their day, can you justify courses in car driving today? Give your reasons.
3. What attitudes, if any, should schools develop? Is sufficient attention

given to the teaching of attitudes? Are attitudes directly learned or a learning by-product? What harmful attitudes are students learning today?

4. List other non-school educational agencies in addition to the seven mentioned in the chapter. Which are desirable and which are not? Why? A class or panel discussion of this issue might prove profitable.
5. What differences are there between educational and propaganda agencies?
6. Many corporations, businesses, organizations, and public bodies have "public relations bureaus." Are they propaganda or educational agencies? Good or bad in influence?
7. What instances can you cite as to the influence of pressure and propaganda groups upon freedom of teaching? Upon the content of the school curriculum? Upon school policy? Plan a panel discussion or debate on these questions.
8. List the pressure groups which in some way influenced the public school from which you were graduated. Was their influence largely good or bad as far as the school was concerned?
9. Contrast the conception of education as preparation for life with that of education as the richest and most stimulating environment for pupils of any certain age.
10. Compare the 1893 report of the Committee of Ten with the 1918 report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education with reference to the functions of the school.
11. Which magazines published in this country would be barred in a totalitarian state? What differences, if any, would the nature of that particular state's totalitarianism make?
12. Consider the demands that various pressure groups make upon the school and then write out what you think each group's definition of education would be.

CHAPTER XI

WHAT SHOULD BE THE TASK OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL IN AMERICA?

How did primitive society attempt to meet the educational needs of adolescence?

There is a real sense in which the education of the adolescent in primitive society has practical meaning for the secondary schools of America. Although primitive man did not have schools as we think of them, he did have a program of education. This program was carried on principally by the family until adolescence, when intensive preparation for adult group life was, in most instances, undertaken by the clan or tribe itself. Tribal life was rigorous but relatively simple in organization and activities. The family was the primary unit in which the child, in association with the members of the family or members of the tribe, learned much about the rudimentary social rules. As he shared the responsible activities of the family, he learned at first hand the essential elements in group living. In close proximity to adults and their problems, he heard much of the conversation of these adults. Under these circumstances he absorbed adult ways of thinking about life, the world of nature, and the relation of person to person, within the family, individual and group, even of group to group. By this process he came to accept the values of life common to his family and tribe. From the lips of the family elders, the child learned something of the group traditions and its folklore. In such small group situations, unlike our modern complex life, many of the important gatherings of the tribe were observed and the discussions listened to by the children. Events such as feast days, celebrations of important events, and meetings of the group about policies of the tribe frequently found children present or at least eavesdropping.

The actual training of children in practical activities of the adult began early; the boy learned certain essential skills which were useful to group life then and would be vital to his existence as an efficient member of the adult group later—he was taught how to swim, make fires, fish, hunt, make and use weapons, and similar necessary living skills. The girls were instructed in those skills which were the functions of women within the tribe—usually they learned how to cook, weave, make clothing, and other appropriate skills.

For boys, and sometimes for girls, there was a more formal type of education that came with the onset of adolescence. The transition from childhood to adulthood for primitive youths was abrupt; a few days to a few months was all the time that was normally given official recognition for the adolescent period in primitive society—the primitive boy or girl was a child today and a responsible adult, married and completely self-supporting, tomorrow. If the tribal state of culture was quite primitive, there was not much to learn beyond the skills already acquired or the folklore or *mores* of the tribe. Where the culture was more advanced, the time required for this phase of the adolescent's education usually was longer.

There were two important aspects of the more formal adolescent education. The first had to do with the inculcation of certain attitudes in the youths about to become responsible members of the adult group. The smaller the group and the less complex its organizational life, the more likelihood that the skills and knowledge needed had been achieved largely before adolescence; the major task of adolescent education under these circumstances was to insure the inculcation of those attitudes that guaranteed the unswerving loyalty of the individual to the group interests—there was no place for one of questionable loyalty or a nonconforming individualist. The safety of the entire tribe might depend upon the complete adherence of every member. This point is emphasized by Hart:

The security of a group depends not alone upon what the children learn, but the spirit in which they live what they learn. After all, skills and knowledges are not enough; youth may know and be able to do, and may still play havoc with the ancient folkways. . . . Unless youth accepts the folkways irrevocably and unquestioningly, knowledge and skill may be turned against the safety of the group. Youth may become resentful

of control—unless the emotions are fixed in the “right” direction. Children, especially boys, are ever a possible menace to stability, unless they are caught young, and their emotions brought under the domination of group custom. The adult generation must make sure that these emotions are so set—beyond recall—else the group may be destroyed from within.

How can this complete fixation of the emotions of youth within the customs of the group be brought about? The answer is found in the primitive initiation ceremonial. This ceremonial was practiced in some form practically everywhere in the primitive world. Groups that never learned to deal with youth in this way perished, and are forgotten.¹

It is clear that primitive man was fully alive to the importance of the emotions in the education of youth for group life. He was equally aware that for the youth to be a cooperative and self-sustaining member of the tribe he needed to possess understanding of the purposes of the group, the need for group solidarity, the *mores* accepted for the internal regulation of tribal life, and must possess skills in the arts of group living as well as skills essential to the making of a living.

Whatever, in the judgment of the tribal elders, youth still lacked in any of these areas, he was expected to obtain in the period of these initiatory rites. It is generally agreed by students of primitive man that his education was intensely practical: attention was focused on the recognized needs of the individual and the group; education was tested against its undoubted contribution to survival values, and only those things which appeared to contribute definitely to needs found a place in the ceremonial rites. It is also evident that this education was quite thorough: its physical severity at times affected the health, if not the life of the initiate. Since life was rigorously lived in the midst of hardship and danger, education, it was thought, should consist of some experiences that would involve hardship, physical endurance, and even some element of danger.

These initiatory rites were important civic affairs: they affected the whole community and were participated in by all the adult members of the tribe. The actual details of the principal initiations, which were for the boys of the tribe, were carried out by the men. These induction ceremonies marked the

¹From *A Social Interpretation of Education*, by Joseph K. Hart. New York. Copyright, 1929, by Henry Holt & Company, Inc., pp. 13-14.

beginning of adult life for adolescents; the completion of these rites symbolized for the primitive group what our school commencements do for our culture—the transition from childhood to adulthood. This occasion, therefore, was of momentous concern to the entire tribal group.

The initiation ceremonies were conducted according to formal and well-established rituals. The men, women, and youths gathered at some central place, usually in the open, where they began their tribal marching, singing, dancing, and feasting—sometimes this lasted for several days. Finally, the boys were taken away by the older men of the tribe to some secluded spot apart from the women, and their final period of education was begun. The candidate might be left alone in some remote lodge to fast and pray. When this solitude had created the proper emotional readiness in the candidate, he would be brought before the elders to receive the secrets and other instructions that made him eligible for full tribal membership. The nature of these secrets and the atmosphere that ordinarily surrounded their communication to the young neophyte are interestingly described by Hart:

These revelations were made by the elders of the group who sedately opened to him all the precious lore of the past. This wisdom came to him, under the circumstances, as from the very mouth of the divinity. These secrets were of many sorts: of family relationships and inter-relationships; of industry and the magic modes by which agriculture could best be promoted, or the means by which the fleet deer could be brought to earth; of war, and the means by which the enemy could be conquered; of religion, and those magic processes which even the gods cannot disobey; of social control, and the means by which rebellious individuals can be brought to submission—all these and more. And these revelations might be further "clinched" and made far more emotionally impressive by some form of physical torture applied at just the right psychological moment in the midst of the revelations. Also, as this experience marked the actual passing of the youth over into the ranks of the adult part of the community, there was always some changing of his clothing: he put away childish things and put on the marks of the man!²

If the level of development of the tribe was low, the education needed and given would be less elaborate. It might be com-

²From Hart, Joseph K., *A Social Interpretation of Education*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., copyright, 1929, p. 25. See also Uhl, Willis L., *Secondary*

pleted by a series of council meetings in which the various elders imparted the revelations of wisdom to the initiate. If the organizational life of the tribe was more highly developed, individual candidates might be assigned to an elder of the tribe for part of the details of the education. This elder, over a period of weeks or months, would impart to the neophyte the secret lore of the tribe and see to it that he acquired the skills considered necessary.

The breadth of the education of primitive groups was in keeping with the realistic way in which they tried to make their youths into efficient functioning group members. At least four major areas of life appear to have been stressed by primitive education. Emphasis was given to (1) morality—the *mores* as these applied to relations to other individuals or groups; (2) civic affairs—the organization of the life of the group and the civic responsibilities of the individual into the pattern of government in vogue; (3) economic and vocational life—the economic responsibility of the individual in the family and tribal life and the achievement of the skills necessary for successfully participating as a self-supporting member; (4) religion—primitive man believed in religion as a vital part of tribal life; (5) aesthetics—man appears, even in his most primitive states, to have regarded beauty as an important part of his life. With advancement in the scale of development, men devoted more attention to personal ornamentation and the decoration of the environment. Uhl attempts an interesting parallel between the content of primitive education and that of modern secondary education. He classifies the activities of primitive education into seven categories which roughly parallel the major divisions of the subject curriculum of our contemporary secondary schools, and describes the content of each in some detail as primitive man gave expression to them. They are: (1) Literature; (2) Mathematics; (3) Science; (4) Social Studies; (5) Religion; (6) Fine and Applied Arts; (7) Physical Education.³

School Curricula. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 3-37 for a more detailed description of the nature of the initiation ceremonies and the seven areas of primitive education.

³Uhl, Willis L., *Secondary School Curricula*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 5-37.

What are the purposes of secondary education in America?

How is secondary education defined? It is important in the very beginning of a consideration of the purposes of the secondary school to see first what we mean by secondary education. We have given careful attention to the meaning of education. It can be assumed at once that all that is subsumed in the meaning of education also applies to secondary education. Secondary education, as the term implies, is a special phase or part of total education. It is essential that it is not thought of as something apart from or different from the total process involved in education. The fundamental processes of learning are the same irrespective of age. Whatever appears to suggest differences is due to modifications in emphasis of the process and in the shift of the direction of purpose.

Possibly nowhere in writings on education has a more lucid functional conception of secondary education been presented than has been given in the definition of the "Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education" of the Department of Secondary School Principals. They defined secondary education thus:

"Secondary education" denotes the education provided by schools for the purpose of guiding and promoting the development of normal individuals for whom on the one hand the elementary school no longer constitutes a satisfactory environment, and who on the other hand are either not yet prepared to participate effectively in society unguided by the school, or are not ready for the specialized work of the professional schools or the upper division of the liberal arts college.*

This definition will need careful study to comprehend its full significance; the implications are both clearly stated and far-reaching. The student of secondary education should be fully aware of at least the most important of these implications. First, the location of the period of secondary education is stated entirely in terms of function. The secondary school has certain tasks to perform in the development of the learner. It

*Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, *Issues of Secondary Education*. Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals. Chicago: National Education Association, January, 1936. Bulletin 59, p. 22.

does not begin its work until that stage in the educational development of the learner has been reached at which the educational function of the secondary school begins. It continues its educational task until the development of the learner has reached that stage where the secondary school responsibility ends. The criteria for the localization of the specific functions of secondary education are clearly stated. There need be no misunderstanding of these criteria. They are two in number: (1) The lower boundaries of the secondary school are set in terms of that stage of the child's development that disqualifies him for further membership in the elementary school and thus makes him the responsibility of the secondary school. (2) At the upper limits there are certain levels of competencies in the development of the individual which when reached indicate that he has passed beyond the further responsibility of the secondary school. Until these competencies have been achieved, the secondary school has not discharged its obligations to the learner.

The second important implication of this definition is that no mechanical and rigid line of demarcation separates the elementary from the secondary school. To insist that the child is ready for the secondary school because he has passed a certain score on a standardized achievement test that is average for sixth-grade children is not valid. Neither is the child ready for the secondary school by virtue merely of attainment of a given grade in school, whether it is the sixth, seventh, or eighth grade. The basis for separation from the elementary school and admission to the secondary school is a functional one: transition from one school to the other must be based primarily upon the stage of development of the child. The true criterion should be the reaching of that stage in development when "the elementary school no longer constitutes a satisfactory environment" for the child. When does the elementary school become an unsatisfactory environment? When the biological, social, and intellectual maturity of the individual has reached a stage of development where he no longer finds that he shares the interests and thinking of the elementary school group with which he has been associated. Then, for him, that "elementary school becomes an unsatisfactory environment." It means that

instead of thinking of the intellectual criterion as the sole basis of transition from the elementary to the secondary school, this criterion should be superseded in the hierarchy of importance by the criteria of biological and social maturity. These become the principal bases upon which the transition of the child from the elementary to the secondary school should ideally take place.

The third important implication of this definition is that no similarly rigid line of demarcation determines the end of secondary education. No amassing of a certain number of subject units or the routine completion of a certain number of grades automatically discharges the learner from the further responsibility of the secondary school. The functional conception of the responsibility of the secondary school is not that easily fulfilled. Two criteria are stated specifically as the upper limits of secondary school responsibility. The learner continues to be the ward of the secondary school until he has achieved competencies to enable him to function efficiently without further help from the school, either (1) "to participate effectively in society," or (2) to carry on "the specialized work of the professional schools or the upper division of the liberal arts college." It is quite clear that it is expected that when the youths complete the work of the secondary school, they shall be fully competent to assume the full range of duties that devolve upon the adult. Among the most obvious of these are: the sharing of civic responsibilities and privileges, assumption of the obligations of establishing a home and family, successful participation in vocational life, or, where more rigorous preparation must still be made for professional life or academic specialization, their successful prosecution. There is one possible suggestion of what the upper limit grade norm of the high school might be in a practical administration of this secondary school. The reference to the "upper division of the liberal arts college" would imply that the years and task usually thought of as encompassed in the first two years belonging to the college are actually a part of the secondary school.

The fourth very important implication of this definition concerns the definite task of the secondary school. Basically the task of the secondary school is that of "guiding and pro-

moting the development of normal individuals" during the period between the elementary school and adulthood. There are definite implicit and explicit assumptions basic to the implied responsibility of the secondary school.

The admission of the learner to the secondary school is based upon his having outgrown the elementary school. The recognized biological characteristic of the learner in the elementary school is that he is still a child—puberty has not begun. Social maturity tends to parallel very closely the maturation of the sex function. When these two closely intertwined aspects of development begin to assert themselves in the individual, he increasingly finds himself out of step with the immaturity of his group. This sense of being out of step increases as his maturity progresses. The learner is now ready for an environment in which his biological and social maturity are fully recognized.

The task of guiding the development of the learner beyond childhood is to provide a proper environment consonant with emerging adolescence. The secondary school must give primary attention to the orientation of this emerging adolescent in the significance of the new world of strange meanings. His social environment should be suited to the needs of the developing adolescent. The intellectual atmosphere will continue the development of those social skills to which the elementary school devoted much time, but they will now be adjusted to his new environment, and the youth will be aided in more fully exploring and understanding the world about him. This early phase of the secondary school program must be devoted to the successful transition of the learner from the environment of childhood to that of early adolescence.

At the later stage of the secondary school period it is equally clear that the educational task is that of guiding the development of the adolescent in such a way that he achieves competencies which will enable him to leave the school fully capable of meeting the contingencies of adulthood. The education of the secondary school at this juncture is focused upon the acquisition of those attitudes, skills, and understandings that will make the transition of the youth to adult status as effective and as natural as have been his transitions at every other phase of the preceding educational process.

What are some significant statements of purpose?

COMMITTEE OF TEN (1893): It may be a valuable experience for the educational worker to examine some statements of educational purpose that have been prepared by responsible groups with the secondary school particularly in mind. To contrast the purposes of secondary education as thought of by those who controlled the program of the secondary school before the turn of the century with more recent educational thinking, the statement of purpose of the Committee of Ten is given in some detail. As pointed out previously, this committee was one of the most influential groups in the direction of secondary, and also elementary, education for over a quarter of a century before 1918.

The secondary schools of the United States, taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges . . . their main function is to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country—a proportion small in number, but very important to the welfare of the nation—who show themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain so long at school. . . . A secondary school programme intended for national use must therefore be made for those children whose education is not to be pursued beyond the secondary school. The preparation of a few pupils for college or scientific school should in the ordinary secondary school be the incidental, and not the principal, object. At the same time, it is obviously desirable that the colleges and scientific schools should be accessible to all boys or girls who have completed creditably the secondary school course. . . . In order that any successful graduate of a good secondary school should be free to present himself at the gates of the college or scientific school of his choice, it is necessary that the colleges and scientific schools of the country should accept for admission to appropriate courses of their instruction the attainments of any youth who has passed creditably through a good secondary school course, no matter to what group of subjects he may have mainly devoted himself in the secondary school. . . . The pupil may now go through a secondary school course of a very feeble and scrappy nature—studying a little of many subjects and not much of any one, getting, perhaps, a little information in a variety of fields, but nothing which can be called a thorough training. Now the recommendations of the Nine Conferences, if well carried out, might fairly be held to make all the main subjects taught in the secondary schools of equal rank for

the purposes of admission to college or scientific school. They would all be taught consecutively and thoroughly, and would be carried on in the same spirit; they would all be used for training the powers of observation, memory, expression, and reasoning.^a

This statement of purposes is general in nature; specific objectives are not attempted as in the case of other groups. A careful study of the statement will no doubt suggest to the careful reader that, although lip service is given to the non-college preparatory purposes of the secondary schools of America, the emphasis throughout is upon the shaping of the work of the secondary school so that high school graduates may enter colleges and scientific schools without penalty. Further, as the general purposes of secondary education are conceived, it is not assumed that any large proportion of our youth will or should receive a secondary education. It still remains for the Committee of Ten, the school of the intellectually-economic élite.

COMMISSION ON THE REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (1918): Attention was called to the fact that the list of objectives drawn up by this Commission was not thought to represent the purposes of the secondary school only but of all education as well. The Commission did think of some objectives as primarily applicable to secondary and higher education. Because of the importance of this list it is presented with some excerpts on their place in secondary education as seen by the Commission:

1. *Health.*—Health needs cannot be neglected during the period of secondary education without serious danger to the individual and the race. The secondary school should therefore provide health instruction, inculcate health habits, organize an effective program of physical activities, regard health needs in planning work and play, and cooperate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests.

2. *Command of fundamental processes.*—Much of the energy of the elementary school is properly devoted to teaching certain fundamental processes. . . . The facility that a child of 12 or 14 may acquire in the

^a*Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies. With the Reports of the Conferences Arranged by the Committee. New York: Published for the National Education Association by the American Book Company, 1894.*

use of these tools is not sufficient for the needs of modern life. This is particularly true of the mother tongue. Proficiency in many of these processes may be increased more effectively by their application to new material than by the formal reviews commonly employed.

3. *Worthy home-membership*.—Home membership as an objective should not be thought of solely with reference to future duties. These are the better guaranteed if the school helps the pupils to take the right attitude toward present home responsibilities and interprets to them the contribution of the home to their development.

In the education of every high-school girl, the household arts should have a prominent place because of their importance to the girl herself and to others whose welfare will be directly in her keeping.

In the education of boys, some opportunity should be found to give them a basis for the intelligent appreciation of the value of the well-appointed home and of the labor and skill required to maintain such a home, to the end that they may cooperate more effectively . . . they should understand the essentials of food values, of sanitation, and of household budgets.

4. *Vocation*.—Vocational education should equip the individual to secure a livelihood for himself and those dependent on him, to serve society well through his vocation, to maintain right relationships toward his fellow workers and society, and, as far as possible, to find in that vocation his own best development. . . . An effective program of vocational guidance in the secondary school is essential.

5. *Civic education*.—Civic education should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act well his part as a member of neighborhood, town or city, State, and Nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems.

6. *Worthy use of leisure*.—Education should equip the individual to secure from his leisure the recreation of body, mind, and spirit, and the enrichment and enlargement of his personality. . . . The high school has given little conscious attention to this objective. . . . One of the surest ways in which to prepare pupils worthily to utilize leisure in adult life is by guiding and directing their use of leisure in youth.

7. *Ethical character*.—In a democratic society ethical character becomes paramount among the objectives of the secondary school. Among the means for developing ethical character may be mentioned the wise selection of content and methods of instruction in all subjects of study, the social contacts of pupils with one another and with their teachers, the opportunities afforded by the organization and administration of the school for the development on the part of pupils of the sense of personal responsibility and initiative, and, above all, the spirit of service and the

principles of true democracy which should permeate the entire school—principal, teachers, and pupils.⁶

The Commission emphasized the importance of these objectives particularly for the secondary school in these words:

This Commission holds that education is essentially a unitary and continuous process, and that each of the objectives defined above must be recognized throughout the entire extent of secondary education.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (1942): The Progressive Education Association has had, and still has under another name, an important influence upon modern educational thinking. Over the past quarter of a century it has given leadership to newer educational practices in the schools of America. One of the many innovations in education which the Progressive Education Association sponsored was the well-known high school curriculum experiment called the "Eight-Year Study." Thirty secondary schools scattered throughout the United States were given *carte blanche* to reorganize their educational program in whatever way they thought would bring these programs into better harmony with the conceptions of education held. Some three hundred colleges and universities agreed to accept the graduates of these schools as students without question irrespective of whether the students had had the prerequisite courses usually required for admission. Each school set up its own objectives and determined the curriculum each thought most likely to aid in the realization of these objectives.

As the time approached for an attempt to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the work of these schools as compared with the more traditional types of schools, the Association found it necessary to set up objectives for evaluative purposes. These standards were based upon a careful study of the objectives each school had set up to guide its work. The ten listed below are the ones the Evaluation Staff believed essentially representative of those which governed the activities of the thirty experimental schools. This statement of objectives, therefore,

⁶*Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Bulletin No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 11-16.

may be taken as representative of a very forward looking group in contemporary secondary education.

1. The development of effective methods of thinking
2. The cultivation of useful work habits and study skills
3. The inculcation of social attitudes
4. The acquisition of a wide range of significant interests
5. The development of increased appreciation of music, art, literature, and other aesthetic experiences
6. The development of social sensitivity
7. The development of better personal-social adjustment
8. The acquisition of important information
9. The development of physical health
10. The development of a consistent philosophy of life^{*}

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (1937, 1942): One of the influential organizations devoted to the advancement of education is the American Council on Education. In 1935 the Council set up a special group known as the American Youth Commission to study the problems of youth in America and to suggest a comprehensive educational program adequate to meet the problems of youth and the nation. A large sum of money was provided for the prosecution of the study. It was hoped that the American Youth Commission would thus be enabled to make such a thoroughgoing study that its findings, conclusions, and recommendations would merit complete confidence on the part of the profession and the general public.

Two statements of objectives have been offered by the American Youth Commission. They are almost identical and should not be considered as an effort to present deliberately two separate and different sets of objectives. The first was offered in 1937 as *The Objectives of a National Program of Education for Youth*.

1. *Citizenship*. Adults—"loyal to their people, cooperative in habits and well informed in economic, political and other problems."
2. *Home and Family*. Adults—"capable of maintaining happy and effective homes for their children."
3. *Vocational Life*. Adults—"capable of carrying on their vocational activities."

^{*}Alkin, Willford M., *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942, pp. 89-90.

4. *Leisure Time.* Adults—"able to spend their leisure time profitably."
5. *Physical Health.* Adults—"sound in bodily health."
6. *Mental Health.* Adults—"mentally sound."
7. *Continued Learning.* Adults—"interested in and capable of continuing to study all aspects of life and culture."⁸

Five years later in the final report of the American Youth Commission a very brief section is devoted to the matter of objectives. Here five objectives of the seven previously listed are repeated, with some indication these were to be considered indispensable although other objectives might be desirable. The final recommendation of objectives by the Commission is given as follows:

The schools must reconsider the fundamentals of education in terms of the objectives that have become appropriate. These objectives must include the effective preparation of young people for life in all its aspects—for work, for health, for use of leisure time, for home membership, and above all for the obligations of citizenship in a democracy.

The American Youth Commission recommends that American secondary schools adopt these comprehensive and varied objectives, and make such continuing revisions of their curricula and methods as the attainment of these objectives may require.⁹

The similarity of these objectives and those of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education are quite evident when the two lists are compared. It is doubtful whether the Commission made any substantial contribution in the area of objectives.

THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY (1946): A final statement of objectives is presented for two reasons: first, this approach is very different from the previous lists given; it presents objectives, not in terms of the purposes of an adult society and its particular ideals and patterns of life, but in terms of youth who would succeed in developing those patterns of behavior

⁸Douglass, Harl R., *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1937, pp. 23-24.

⁹*Youth and the Future*, The General Report of the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, p. 216. Italics used in the quotation are added by the author of this book to set the objectives apart for quick recognition.

essential to success in their immediate environment. This results in a sharp difference in both the form of statement of the objectives and the emphasis. The statement is in terms of an active process the learner must be engaged in for the realization of his purposes. The objectives are thought of from the standpoint of the learner and his achievements rather than from the point of view of the society and its purpose. The statements of objectives by the American Youth Commission were definitely in terms of the adult patterns of behavior it wished youth to acquire. There is a place for both approaches, although the tendency is now to combine them. A comparison of the Educational Policies Commission list of objectives given in the previous chapter will make this point clear.

The second reason for presenting this list of objectives is because it appears in a Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, one of the vanguard of educational thinkers. The educational worker should be aware of the type of educational thinking groups of this kind represent. The objectives are given as important "developmental tasks of adolescence . . . teen-age boys and girls must learn if they are to make reasonably adequate adjustment to their culture":

1. Coming to terms with their own bodies
2. Learning new relationships to their age mates
3. Achieving independence from their parents
4. Achieving adult social and economic status
5. Acquiring self-confidence and a system of values¹⁰

A careful review of the objectives presented in this section, with the possible exception of the statement of the Committee of Ten, will probably give the impression that there are no real conflicts in the several statements. All profess to think of educational objectives in terms of the needs of a democratic society. They emphasize, too, the peculiar stage of the individual's maturity at the age of adolescence. The marked difference appears in the degree of emphasis given to the objective as of vital concern to the learner in the present or for a future state of being—adulthood. The list of objectives

¹⁰John Dewey Society, *The American High School: Its Responsibility and Opportunity*. Eighth Yearbook. Caswell, H. H. et al. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, p. 98.

definitely aimed at adulthood without too much apparent concern with the present needs of the learner is the list given by the American Youth Commission. At the other extreme the John Dewey Society list, with one exception, gives primary attention to the immediate present. The list that evidences the best balance between adolescence and adulthood is given by the Progressive Education Association. Each of these statements involves the achievement of a type of behavior that carries through the present into the future, with about the same consciousness on the part of the learner of the immediate desirability of the competency to meet felt needs, irrespective of the age level of the learner.

There are certain characteristics of objectives on which modern educators are in general agreement. First, objectives, in any form, are not to be thought of as discrete entities: one does not acquire competencies that satisfy one objective alone. The old idea of single S-R bond learning has long been abandoned. The newer conception of organismic learning would suggest that learning in relation to purposes is intertwined and multiple. The achievement of one purpose is not likely to occur without contributory competencies being achieved in other directions.

Second, objectives are no longer thought of as distinctly applicable to a given age or a division level of the school. Continuous development of a type of competency from childhood through youth and much of adulthood is expected. The achievement, for example, of the competency to convey ideas to others effectively is never fully realized. The same is true with respect to any major area of competencies in which proficiency is desired.

Third, although major objectives are to be thought of as continuing throughout the life of the learner, there are aspects of each which may receive more or particular emphasis at different stages in the development of the learner. The frequently mentioned area of economic competency may require a special emphasis at a certain stage of development of the learner, for instance, the requirements of various types of vocational life and the possible fitness of the individual in terms of aptitude and training for given vocations, or the actual

launching of the learner upon a program of developing specific technical skills required by a desired vocation. Even more obvious is the general objective of desirable family relationships. Aspects of this objective area are present for the young child and yet are in process of more efficient achievement throughout life. On the other hand, although association between the sexes from childhood on contributes to a better attitude, this phase of achieving successful family life receives more emphasis in more complex phases of the problem at the proper time.

Fourth, in keeping with these other considerations objectives must be thought of in terms of vital competencies which contribute to the achievement of present goals or purposes, and at the same time point to the achievement of goals or purposes essential to successful adult living. This is in full harmony with the accepted educational principle that we best achieve the necessary behavior patterns desirable for adulthood through the achievement of those desirable behavior patterns appropriate to successful living at every stage of the life cycle. Educators are now fully agreed that the patterns of behavior and thinking so necessary for the richest type of adult living are those patterns necessary for success at any given stage of the individual's development but more complex and expanded. Effective living at every stage of life is essentially of degree and not of kind. For this reason, those statements of objectives by the Educational Policies Commission in *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* are in most complete harmony with the principles laid down in this section. They provide the type of statements of objectives most usable in the secondary school.

The use of any list of objectives should presuppose at least two important considerations on the part of the educational worker: first, the clear visualization of the significance of each major and minor objective accepted, against a background of the American ideal of government and life; second, an equally clear awareness at all times of the peculiar task of the secondary school in relation to the status of the learner entering it from the elementary school, and the further responsibility of the secondary school to equip this learner with those desirable

behavior skills that will insure his effective emergence later into adult life.

The descriptive definition of secondary education presented at the beginning of this chapter should provide the educational worker with a basic orientation for the intelligent use of an over-all statement of objectives such as those formulated by the Educational Policies Commission. No statement of objectives yet devised should be considered completely satisfactory. Both individually and in groups, educational workers should formulate their own working statements of objectives, or make modifications of existing lists.

How should the task of the secondary school be related to that of the elementary school?

The general clue to the functional relations of the two schools is suggested in the discussion of the definition of secondary education. The relationship of the secondary school to the elementary school can be understood best if the tasks of both schools are seen as related phases of the total task of formal education. The secondary school cannot understand its task adequately unless it sees in perspective the major outlines of the elementary school. The reverse, of course, is equally true.

What is the task of the elementary school? Before this question can be answered it is necessary to know what the school has to begin its work with. What does the child bring to the school in the way of a background of experiences and an equipment of social skills?

What does the child bring to the school? The child enters upon his school career directly from the home where he has acquired some of the rudimentary social skills essential to group life. They may be very primitive indeed; the child may be almost unsocial or non-social. Where there have been other children in the family, the socialization may have gone far to equip the child with the social skills necessary to enable him to make group adjustments without too much difficulty. If he is the only child of indulgent parents, his contacts with other children may have been very much restricted, so that he will

not have learned by experience, through the interplay of group activities, the need to curb his desires and adjust his wishes to those of others in the interest of group harmony. He may, under these circumstances, bring to the school pronounced unsocial behavior patterns and undesirable attitudes. There will be a wide range of individual differences in the amount of social skills the children possess when they enter the elementary school. The children who come from the larger proportion of American homes will, in all probability, have achieved a level of social behavior that enables them to get along reasonably well together.

A second characteristic of the child newly admitted to the school is the strong probability that he will bring with him a well-developed facility in the use of the spoken language. The lower the level of literacy of the home, the less proficient the child is likely to be in his language usage. By the same token the child from the home of culture and high educational attainment will bring with him a superior ability to use the spoken word. Some children will come to school with no ability to read or write, and others will possess facility in each. The same will be true of language of number, although it is unlikely that many will come without possessing some practical verbal number concepts.

What is the task of the elementary school? The determination of the larger task of the elementary school requires that it be thought of in its environmental setting. The elementary school is the first phase of the child's formal education. The school is the recipient of the product which has been educationally influenced almost exclusively by other agencies. The home has been the chief source of this influence. The school will have the major responsibility for the next six or seven years for the formal education of the child. Normally, this will take the child through the period of childhood. At the beginning of the pubertal stage of physical development it is expected that the child will be transferred to an adolescent environment. The environmental period covered by the elementary school is that of childhood.

There are three primary tasks of this school of childhood: *first*, to insure the transformation of the unsocial or slightly so-

cialized individual into a reasonably competent social being. By the time the elementary school period is over, the child should have learned how to get along with others, work efficiently and cooperatively with the teacher and his fellow students, and, in general, evidence the elements of self-control.

The *second* major task of the school of childhood is to increase the effectiveness of the child in the use of the basic personal-social skills—commonly spoken of as the tools of learning. The child should develop facility in the communication skills of reading, writing, and speaking. The language of number becomes an important habit skill to be developed at this time. Besides these are the important health habits and skills essential to the life of the child now and throughout life. A high degree of facility in the use of all these personal-social skills is important at this period and will become increasingly so as the child progresses toward and through adulthood. A *third* task of the school of childhood is to help the child gain as rich an understanding of his world as possible. In a rapidly shrinking world the child can no longer be confined to his home environment. It is important that the school help him to use the radio, the movie, the press, and other modern means of extending his world so that they enrich his breadth of contact and his understanding of the meaning of the larger world. The task of the school in the development of these major areas of the elementary school's responsibility has been well stated by Hockett and Jacobsen:

If we want socially sensitive and socially disposed individuals, school experiences must be permeated with the spirit of cooperative endeavor, in which pupils share responsibilities and successes. If we wish poised and integrated personalities, the school program must facilitate emotional stability, social adjustment and creative achievement in an atmosphere of security and of sympathetic understanding. If we aim to develop confident, self-reliant individuals, we must build confidence through a program of success, in which the child continually grows in ability to assume responsibility for his own decisions and behavior. If we value integrity of character, the school must encourage both emotional and intellectual sincerity on the part of each child, even though he may react differently from the other children or the teacher. If purposiveness, perseverance, and enthusiasm are desirable qualities, children must be permitted and

helped to set up worthy purposes which they can carry through enthusiastically, to successful conclusions. If open-minded respect for fact and truth is a desirable characteristic, many opportunities for practicing the scientific attitude must be provided in children's school experience. If appreciation and enjoyment of the beautiful are worth-while, the school must provide time and opportunity for these experiences. If happiness and good fellowship are constituents of the good life, the school must show the children how they can be attained.¹¹

The responsibility of the elementary school for this phase of the school's educational task has been uniquely stated in terms of certain "developmental tasks" the elementary school should assist the child to achieve. Some of the most important of these tasks as stated are:

1. To care for his person in the sense that he can dress himself and keep himself reasonably clean.
2. To use his body as an instrument of his will; that is, to coordinate his movements so that his behavior becomes more effective.
3. To assume a sex role appropriate to little boys or girls.
4. To get along reasonably well with his age-mates.
5. To use the fundamental intellectual skills that are necessary for everyday life, such as reading, writing, and computing.
6. To develop a sharper sense of right and wrong and the ability to behave consistently with some acceptable scale of values.
7. To behave consistently with certain conventional attitudes toward social groups and institutions such as race, religion, school, and the family.
8. To inhibit, to some degree at least, his emotional impulses.¹²

A *fourth* major task of the elementary school is to point the child toward the second phase of his formal education—the school of adolescence. This task should be thought of as slightly apart from the three primary tasks of the school. This task becomes prominent as the child approaches the later part of his stay in the elementary school. He should be oriented toward the life and activities of the second phase of his formal

¹¹Hockett, John A. and Jacobsen, E. W., *Modern Practices in the Elementary School*. New York: Ginn & Company, 1938, pp. 6-7.

¹²John Dewey Society, *The American High School: Its Responsibility and Opportunity*. Eighth Yearbook. Caswell, Hollis L., et al. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. 72-73.

education; he should come to appreciate the opportunities afforded in the new school to continue some of his cherished activities. Also, the opportunities to explore developing interests and engage in new activities of vital significance to the learner should be unfolded in the latter part of the elementary school program. There should be a natural but growing desire created in the child to participate in the privileges and opportunities available in the school just ahead. Interests of the children should be so capitalized upon as to make occasional, if not frequent, contacts with the secondary school necessary to complete some desirable project or attain some goal not possible in the elementary school environment.

How should the secondary school relate its task to the elementary school?

It is important that the secondary school should see that part of its educational task is to continue the development of those behavior patterns involved in the three primary tasks of the elementary school. If modern educational theory is correct in assuming that education at the various school levels is one of degree rather than of kind, the secondary school has a responsibility to know what the stage of development of the child is as he crosses the threshold into the school of adolescence. The secondary school has an obligation to pick up where the elementary school leaves off. The child should not be expected to have achieved mastery of the personal-social skills beyond their effective use within his circumscribed environmental needs. Neither should he be expected to have achieved social adjustment behavior competencies other than those which could be reasonably expected of his limited range of environmental associations and experiences. The criticism frequently made by secondary school teachers that the elementary school child is so poorly prepared to do the work of the secondary school, is largely caused by the failure of the secondary school teacher to understand the relationship of the two schools to each other.

Ideally, the pupil from the elementary school would not enter the secondary school until his biological, social, and

intellectual maturity made his continuance in the school of childhood undesirable. At this point the secondary school faces a difficult problem as it tries realistically to relate its program to that of the elementary school. Biological maturity is very uneven; there is no uniform emergence of the child into the pubertal stage, which is the key phase of development that sets off the school of adolescence from the school of childhood. Practical problems of the school have made strict conformity with the ideal exceedingly difficult. It is imperative that the secondary school and the elementary school interrelate their programs so that these problems are minimized, and the transition of the child from one school to the other is made possible with the least disruption of the learning process experiences of the learner.

How should the task of the secondary school be related to adulthood?

It cannot be emphasized too often that the task of the secondary school is not primarily the direct preparation of the individual for adulthood. The entire educational process is, of course, to make the individual competent to live effectively for the whole span of life, for which the formal period of general education occupies possibly little more than a fourth.

Education is best achieved in relationship to the immediate and compelling problems that face the individual in the here and now. As the learner is enabled to discover and understand the nature of the problems that press upon him and develops competencies to solve them, the best preparation for his present living and for adult life has been provided him. The differences between the adolescent and the adult lie in the degree of maturity each has achieved. Educators now recognize that the essential characteristics of adulthood are achieved during adolescence. It is important, therefore, to keep in mind that adulthood is being achieved during adolescence. It is well to remember further that the long period of adolescence that exists in our culture is not basically correct. Large numbers of youths have reached full adolescent maturity in terms of

their biological development some time before the formal school of adolescence has been completed. These youths have achieved adulthood as far as their biological maturation is concerned. The problems of later adolescence, therefore, tend to merge with those of adulthood. If the adolescent, under the wise guidance of the school, has developed those behavior patterns that enable him to cope successfully with the pressing problems of his life, he has received the best possible preparation for the long years of adulthood ahead.

The problem of the preparation of the adolescent for advanced technical, professional, or other phases of specialized schooling, unfortunately, has absorbed too much of our attention in the past. The secondary school has bent its energies mostly in the direction of college preparation. Happily, the institutions of higher learning have recently decreased the rigid entrance requirements formerly insisted upon. There is every indication in present trends that these requirements for entrance to college will undergo further liberalization.

Recent developments in the psychology of learning have placed in question the old emphasis upon the study of certain subjects as the key to success in college. The doubts thus cast on the possible validity of the old college entrance requirements have been supported by studies of the success of college students without the time-honored prerequisites. The most notable of these studies is the experimental study conducted under the sponsorship of the Progressive Education Association known as the "Eight-Year Study" or sometimes referred to as the "Thirty-Schools Study." This study of the college success of graduates of high schools where college entrance requirements were ignored in the curriculums was revelatory. Graduates from these high schools did better in college than did high school graduates from the traditionally run high schools. When a further comparison was made between the six experimental schools which deviated most from the traditional pattern and the traditional control groups, the advantage was very much on the side of the experimental schools.

There were 361 students from the least conventional six schools, and 417 from the most conventional schools. It turns out that the students

from the least conventional schools excelled their controls by a score that may roughly be expressed 27 to 7, while the students from the most conventional schools of the Thirty were excelled by their control group by a score that may roughly be expressed as 14 to 16 . . . the students from the schools whose pattern of program differed most from the conventional were very distinctly superior to those from the more conventional type of school. . . . It looks as if the stimulus and the initiative which the less conventional approach to secondary school education affords sends on to college better human material than we have obtained in the past.²⁴

Henceforth, the secondary school need give little thought to the preparation of youth for these advanced schools. The behavioral competencies that give the adolescent mastery over his contemporary problems are, at the same time, the best assurance of his success in further intellectual pursuits. For the secondary school to give careful attention to, and guidance of youth in, the resolution of their vital concerns as their developmental problems and interests move them toward adulthood, is the best possible education that can be given youth.

What are some of the issues confronting secondary education?

In any attempt to determine the task of the secondary school in America, the educational worker very soon becomes aware that there is not complete unanimity on some aspects. The question of just who is to be eligible for secondary education, and how much or what kind of an education should be provided are still, among others, subject to debate by the professional worker and layman.

The National Association of Secondary School Principals, after several years of study, published a list of "ten issues" which the committee believed to be issues of vital concern to secondary education. Each of the issues is discussed at some

²⁴Quoted from the "Report by Herbert E. Hawkes, Dean, Columbia College, Meeting of the Association of American Colleges, Philadelphia—January 10, 1940," in Aikin, Wilford M., *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942, p. 150. For further data on the success of those schools which have ventured away from the traditional college-preparatory curriculum pattern careful study should be made of Leonard, J. Paul and Eulich, A. C., *et al.*, *An Evaluation of Modern Education*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942.

length as a part of the report of the committee. The ten issues as stated are:

1. Shall secondary education be provided at public expense for all normal individuals or for only a limited number?
2. Shall secondary education seek to retain all pupils in school as long as they wish to remain, or shall it transfer them to other agencies under educational supervision when, in the judgment of the school authorities, these agencies promise to serve better the pupils' immediate and probable future needs?
3. Shall secondary education be concerned only with the welfare and progress of the individual, or with these only as they promise to contribute to the welfare and progress of society?
4. Shall secondary education provide a common curriculum for all, or differentiated offerings?
5. Shall secondary education include vocational training, or shall it be restricted to general education?
6. Shall secondary education be primarily directed toward preparation for advanced studies, or shall it be primarily concerned with the value of its own courses, regardless of a student's future academic career?
7. Shall secondary education accept the conventional school subjects as fundamental categories under which school experiences shall be classified and presented to students, or shall it arrange and present experiences in fundamental categories directly related to the performance of such functions of secondary schools in a democracy as increasing the ability and the desire better to meet socio-civic, economic, health, leisure-time, vocational, and pre-professional problems and situations?
8. Shall secondary education present merely organized knowledge, or shall it also assume responsibility for attitudes and ideals?
9. Shall secondary education seek merely the adjustment of students to prevailing social ideals, or shall it seek the reconstruction of society?
10. Granting that education is a "gradual, continuous, unitary process," shall secondary education be presented merely as a phase of such a process, or shall it be organized as a distinct but closely articulating part, of the entire educational program, with peculiarly emphasized functions of its own?¹⁴

¹⁴Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, *Issues of Secondary Education*. Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals, Bulletin 59, pp. 5-7. Washington: National Education Association, January, 1936. For further discussion of "Issues" see Briggs, Thomas H., *Secondary Education*,

These issues are still subject to debate. Some are of less importance today than when they were formulated by the Committee; some would receive a different emphasis at this time. They provide a basis for careful study of the unsettled questions in secondary education. A few of the most important problems that will require some positive answers in the next few years if the secondary school is to meet its responsibilities adequately are briefly mentioned. The educational worker will do well to read the supplemental references suggested for more detail on some of these issues.

Shall education be provided at public expense for all youth? This was the first of the issues cited by the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education of the Department of Secondary School Principals. It is still an unsettled question in many respects although many have come to take for granted the right of every youth to a secondary education at public expense. There are still a few who do not believe that all youth are educable beyond the simplest rudiments of socialization and the personal-social skills. An examination of some of the current articles in popular magazines reveals those who do not hesitate to express their convictions that secondary education is wasted effort and expense for many.

During the depression period of the thirties, one state chamber of commerce took a definite stand in opposition to free secondary education for all. It represents the thinking of a number in our midst who are not sure in their own minds that all youth can profit from education beyond the elementary school and also believe that such education should be limited to the children of families who can pay the cost of such education. Among these opponents of secondary education are some who earnestly believe no nation can afford universal secondary education. Others are not committed to the democratic ideal; they see educational opportunity in terms of economic privilege. Many who are in favor of secondary education for all as far as the twelfth grade are not sure education for the next two years should be made available for all.

A serious aspect of this question has gained some momentum during the plush years after the second world war. The gain in private secondary school enrollments has posed several questions. If it is agreed that secondary education should be provided at public expense for all, then one question is "Can America justify the provision of educational opportunity for all and then allow private groups to provide parallel educational programs without endangering the framework of democracy for which the provision of education for all is justified?" The justification for universal secondary education, it is agreed, arises from the fact that, in a democracy, the school is the agency through which the people are unified by the acceptance of common ideals and purposes. Further, the financial drain upon the citizen to maintain two school systems leads to poorer educational facilities for both groups and a general weakening of the public school accepted as the bulwark of democracy.

Shall educational opportunity be equalized for all? No one can question that serious inequalities in educational opportunities do exist; inequality exists between communities and between states. Our best educational leadership has been wrestling with the problem for years. It has been exceedingly difficult to organize and finance educational opportunities so that all communities in a state might offer equal educational privileges to children. Prejudices and rivalries between communities or the financial advantages one community has over another have prevented equalizing the amount and quality of education available. Some states, because of greater wealth, can and do offer their children much better educational facilities, teachers, and enrichment of the curriculum. Pride and the fear of the bugaboo of "States' Rights" have paralyzed efforts thus far for extensive federal aid. For years there have been unsuccessful attempts made at each session of Congress to get a general federal aid for education bill through the Congress. This is one of the pressing issues which confront the Congress and the general public.

What shall be the organizational pattern of secondary education? There are many patterns of organization for the secondary school in operation in America; claims and counter-

claims for the advantages of various organizational patterns are presented. Whether we should have (a) four years of secondary education based upon an eight-year elementary school, (b) six years of secondary education based upon six years of elementary education, (c) the six years of secondary education divided into schools of three years each, (d) the two three-year secondary school divisions to which has been added another two years, carrying the secondary education program through the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, or (e) an eight-year secondary school divided into two equal periods of four years superimposed upon a six-year elementary school, are questions far from being settled. The slight trend now in evidence in theory and practice seems to point to a possible four-four plan for secondary education beginning with the seventh grade and including the fourteenth grade. The educational values in several of these schemes of organization need to be carefully studied; no doubt there is more merit in some than in others, and if there are distinct advantages in one over the others, this should be known.

What shall be the form of organization of the secondary school curriculum? At the present time this is a much debated issue. The major controversy centers about the continuance of the traditional subject basis of curriculum organization as opposed to the use of experiences organized into fundamental areas of necessary human activities. The trend is definitely in the direction of getting away from the old subjects as a basis of curriculum classification and organizing the curriculum on the basis of grouping of experiences under broad categories of human activities, such as family relations, vocational activities, and leisure-time activities. Much work and experimentation need to be done to develop the most desirable scheme of curriculum organization.

What shall be the relative emphasis given to general versus vocational education in the program of secondary education? This issue has undergone a change of emphasis in the past decade and a half; for that reason it has seemed desirable to change the statement from "either, or" to "how much." There does not appear to be a serious issue at present as to whether the secondary school program should be all general education

or whether some vocational education might be reluctantly admitted. A program of education that is realistic about the problems of youth must recognize the importance of vocational education as one of the competencies needed if each is to adjust himself successfully to his environment. At present there appears to be a possible danger of overemphasizing the vocational needs at the expense of the other competencies so necessary in a world of complex demands upon the abilities of the individual. The problem should receive most careful study.

Shall secondary education seek to adjust youth to prevailing social ideals or shall it seek the reconstruction of society? Possibly no other issue of the ten presented by the Department of Secondary School Principals has aroused more heated discussion. It is even more pertinent as an issue today than ever; certainly there is none of greater significance for secondary education and for society. The answer that is finally given by the teaching profession and the public may determine the character of secondary education in America. Its consequences for democracy are far-reaching; it is a burning issue today and should be given intensive and extensive study.

Should the secondary school become the educational center for community and adult activities? Several years ago a book on secondary education appeared entitled *The Community and Its High School*. The title is suggestive of the problem that has become more persistent with the increased emphasis upon adult education and the integration of the educational activities of the community with those of the school. The rapid changes that are taking place in our social and technological world, the corresponding advancement in knowledge, and demands upon adults for new personal-social and vocational skills have created a demand for educational help of every conceivable kind. These demands for educational assistance by the adults of the community require trained personnel to guide and assist and physical facilities where groups can meet for study and discussion or for instruction in vocational or avocational skills. The modern commodious secondary schools are ordinarily the most centrally located and available, have the core of a trained educational staff, and possess the physical equipment needed for many phases of vocational instruction.

Some communities have developed a school plan that begins instructional activities at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and continues until ten o'clock at night. The forepart of the day is devoted mainly to the educational activities of adolescents, and the late afternoon and evenings are given over largely to the educational activities of the adults of the community. This is a development that must receive more study. If the present trend continues, the task of the secondary school will be materially enlarged and possibly somewhat modified. Such an eventuality is fraught with great promise for a dynamic type of education for youth and adults as well as with some dangers. These deserve careful exploration.

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Questions and Problems

1. Is an urban or a rural youth more likely to learn the occupation of his father today? For which youth would it be more necessary to provide work experience? Why?

2. What happens to so-called "standards" when the secondary school is considered the proper environment for all pupils who have grown out of the world of childhood?
3. What problems arise in the secondary school when elementary pupils are promoted from one rigid grade to another with no reference to social, emotional, or physiological maturity?
4. What would you do with a sixth-grade boy who always played with the eighth-grade boys and never with the boys in his own grade?
5. Discuss the conception that secondary teachers have of the task of the secondary school when they complain that elementary pupils when promoted cannot do the work required of secondary pupils.
6. How would you justify the promotion of elementary pupils by grades and of high school pupils by subjects?
7. List those experiences of modern youth in their progress through the secondary school that might be compared to the initiatory rites of primitive man.
8. Discuss the changes you think should be made in the secondary school program if a youth is to remain in the secondary school until he is ready for adult life or for college.
9. Where should all modern youths receive the instruction necessary to prepare them for the responsibilities of establishing a home and family? In grades 11-12? Grades 13-14? In college?
10. Make your own outline of a secondary curriculum designed to meet the needs of youths between the period of childhood and adulthood. How much Latin, typewriting, English, Home Economics would you require? What new courses would you add?
11. Are certain subjects valuable only because students are going to college or because of the intrinsic value of the subjects themselves? State your reasons.
12. Read the fifth volume of the *Eight-Year Study*, "Did They Succeed in College?" and try to decide whether a subject organization of the curriculum can any longer be justified. Would you have preferred to attend the more conventional or more experimental type of high school? Give reasons for your choice.
13. What do you think of the idea that youths are best prepared for adult life when their secondary curriculum is based upon problems of immediate concern and interest at that particular age?
14. Bertrand Russell thinks it "scandalous" that Euclidean geometry is still taught to schoolboys in England. What is your opinion? Would you substitute the geometry of Einstein, for instance?
15. How much education should be provided for all American youths at public expense? By what criteria would you determine a limit?

16. Find evidence to substantiate the existence of inequality of educational opportunity among the various states and even within certain states.
17. Add as many issues as you can to the list of those included in the chapter.

PART IV

IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM

CHAPTER XII

WHO SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROGRAM OF THE SCHOOL?

What is the responsibility of governmental agencies for the program of the secondary school?

What responsibility is exercised by the federal government? The question of the degree of responsibility for education of the federal government has been hotly debated during most of the life of the Republic. The federal Constitution makes no specific reference to education; Article X of the Bill of Rights, ratified in December, 1791, states: *The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.* This early amendment to the Constitution has been interpreted to mean that education is one of the unnamed powers delegated to the states. The fact that no mention was made of education in the Constitution has led many to assume that the framers of the Constitution either were not concerned with education or that they considered education a state responsibility. It is true that education in the colonies was largely decentralized; except for New England the colonies did not take much interest in the support or control of education. It was a local community or parental affair. The antecedents of the colonists made education the primary responsibility of the home and the church. The extreme jealousies that existed between the colonies over their rights were a source of controversy that was carried into the debates over the federal Constitution by several states until the Bill of Rights was approved. "States' Rights" jealousy has persisted and still exists today.

There is evidence that the framers of the Constitution were

not indifferent to the claims of education upon the federal government. The journal of Madison indicated that, at one time during the drafting of the Constitution, federal control of education was on the list of powers intended to be incorporated into the Constitution, although it was later omitted. Hamilton and others believed education was provided for in that section of the preamble which reads, "*promote the general welfare,*" and therefore did not need a special constitutional provision. Jefferson in 1806 and Madison in 1817 strongly recommended a constitutional amendment which would make education clearly a responsibility of the federal government.

At the very time the Constitution was being drafted, the Congress passed two acts which linked the central government with education. The first came with the passage of the Ordinance of 1785. This act provided for the survey and disposal of certain western lands known as the Northwest Territory. One provision of this act states: "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township." By this provision a section of land, consisting of 640 acres in the center of each township, was made available for schools. The second act, known as the Ordinance of 1787, is generally considered our American "charter of public education," because of the statement concerning education which reads: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The federal government in many ways has continued to encourage education with growing emphasis, and thereby has acknowledged indirectly its responsibility for education. It has substantially aided education through many land grants: the most important of these is the Morrill Act of 1862 for the establishment of colleges devoted particularly to agricultural and vocational education. This Act gave to each state for the support of such a college thirty thousand dollars for each senator and representative in Congress. From time to time additional funds have been granted to the land grant colleges and universities which have met the provisions of the Act.

More recently the government has given large sums of

money to encourage certain types of vocational education at the secondary school level. The first of these grants came through the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which provided for education in agriculture, home economics, trades and industry, and teacher education in these fields. This Act created, also, a Federal Board of Vocational Education to administer the Act. A number of federal grants for vocational education for secondary school youth have followed the Smith-Hughes law. The most important of these are the George-Reed Act passed by Congress in 1929, and the George-Ellzey Act of 1934, which gave additional funds to the vocational education program as outlined in the Smith-Hughes law. In 1936 the George-Deen Act increased the amount of money available for vocational education. This Act further extended the program of vocational education to add distributive occupational subjects including "public and other service occupations" and guidance. The George-Barden Act, passed in 1946, doubled the funds available for vocational education. In addition to the educational program already in operation, provision was made for: (1) reimbursement of employment of Vocational Counsellors and Vocational Guidance Supervisors; (2) authorized use of federal funds for the purchase or rental of equipment or supplies for vocational instruction; (3) authorized pre-employment classes for out-of-school youth over eighteen years of age.¹

For several years a bill has been before Congress in various forms to give a large money grant to the several states to advance and equalize educational opportunity. In 1918 the Smith-Sears Vocational Rehabilitation Act was passed to provide education for certain types of World War I veterans. In connection with World War II Congress enacted two very comprehensive laws to provide for educational opportunities for the veterans. The first "Providing for Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Veterans" was passed in 1943; it

¹For more detailed data concerning federal aid to education see Moehlman, Arthur B., *School Administration*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. 810-829; Wahlquist, John T., *An Introduction to American Education*, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946, pp. 169-187; and Swift, Fletcher H., *A History of Public Permanent Common School Funds in the United States, 1795-1905*, New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1911.

made generous provision for the vocational education of disabled veterans at all levels—secondary school level through graduate professional study. Another law passed in 1944 entitled "Service Man's Readjustment Act," commonly known as the GI Bill, provided further educational opportunity for veterans whose education had been interrupted by the war. It provided for secondary, college, and even graduate level educational privileges. These laws have been amended from time to time to liberalize their provisions.

Another important link in the federal government's acknowledgment of its responsibility for education is the Department of Education created as a part of the machinery of the federal government, by Congressional enactment in 1867. The duties of this Department of Education were stated to be:

For the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school system and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.³

The Department of Education was renamed the Bureau of Education two years later. Throughout its history it has undergone changes in title until at this writing it is known as the Office of Education. There has been persistent agitation to have the Office of Education transformed into a Department of Education and raised to the status of a Cabinet position on a par with the Department of Commerce, Department of Agriculture, and similar Departments in the President's Cabinet. At present it is a part of the Federal Security Agency.

Throughout its history the Office of Education has been considered a central clearing house of important statistical data on education and a medium of general information concerning education. It was not expected to exercise administrative authority. However, the growing interest in education on the part of the federal government, as indicated by its money grants to public education, has increased the prestige

³Thirty-ninth Congress, 2d session, 14 St. L., p. 434.

of the Office of Education and given it considerable exercise of administrative authority over the carrying out of the provisions of these grants. Although it is still small and limited in the exercise of administrative authority over public education in the several states, the Office of Education is growing in prestige and gradually taking on more administrative authority as Congress increases its interest in, and financial support of, public education. In its internal organization the Office of Education has one major division devoted to the problems of secondary education.

It is obvious from this brief history of the federal government's relation to education that there has been a steady growth in interest and participation in education; gradually the federal government has become vitally concerned with education at the secondary level. The efforts being made to secure federal support of education on a broad and generous scale to equalize educational opportunity, when they are achieved, will, no doubt, be felt most in the area of secondary education.

What responsibility is exercised by the state government? Inasmuch as the Constitution did not mention education, the states have assumed that this responsibility belongs to them as one of the unnamed powers delegated to them by the federal government. At the time of the adoption of the federal Constitution, several of the states had recognized education as their responsibility in their own state-constitutions. In the beginning many of the states were almost as hesitant to assume a positive attitude toward a state program of education as was the federal government. At present all of the states have made provision for a system of public schools in their constitutions. The influence of the colonial era is evident in the approach to a program of education made by the several states; the tradition of local autonomy prevails almost everywhere. The reluctance of the state to grapple seriously with its responsibility for a state program of education is clearly evidenced in its hesitancy to pass mandatory legislation affecting the schools. Much of the early state legislation was permissive in character: this legislation permitted the people in different communities of the state to create school districts, levy taxes,

and other activities incident to the maintenance of schools. Examples of this type of legislation are the Illinois optional tax law of 1827 which provided that voters were permitted to decide the question of raising one-half the cost of the school by taxation and that no man could be taxed for school support unless he had filed his written consent to be so taxed. A similar optional law in Mississippi, passed as late as 1846, required that two-thirds of the heads of families in the district must file written statements of consent before the district could levy a school tax. It was not until the middle of the last century that compulsory taxation for school support on a statewide basis began to take form. Compulsory school attendance by state requirement was achieved even more slowly: Massachusetts passed the first state compulsory school attendance law in 1852; Mississippi passed such a law in 1918, becoming the last state to make school attendance mandatory.³ Attendance laws vary in the age limits imposed and the rigorousness of the attendance requirements. The vast majority of the states assume some attendance of the adolescent at secondary schools, and a half dozen states, at least, anticipate graduation from the twelfth grade.

The authority of the state over education has been delegated for the most part to some state-wide agency or agencies. Several states, of which New York is possibly the best example, have created a single authority to which has been delegated control of education in the state. Some dozen states have two state boards responsible for education. In these states one board is usually responsible for elementary and secondary education and the other is charged with responsibility for higher education. Over half the states delegate responsibility for various phases of education to three or more boards. One state has thirteen boards of education; the majority of these boards, however, are each in charge of separate institutions of higher education.⁴

³See Cubberley, Ellwood P., *Public Education in the United States*, Chaps. VI-VIII. Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934 for an extended discussion of this problem.

⁴For more detail on the structure and function of these state Boards of Education see *American Education in the Postwar Period*, Part II, Chap. IV. Forty-

In every state there is a chief state school officer who is the executive officer of the board of education wherever there are such boards in charge of elementary and secondary education. Where there is no board of education responsible for elementary and secondary education, the chief state officer is responsible for the supervision of these schools. In either case responsibility for the administration of the public schools is concentrated more and more under their authority. The usual duties of either the board or the chief state school officer involve:

1. Determination of the state's educational policy
2. Distribution of school funds
3. Certification of teachers
4. Determination of the school curriculum
5. Administration of vocational education (in most states)
6. Administration of school library services
7. Supervision of school building plans
8. General administration of elementary and secondary schools

The duties of the chief state school officer and the board of education, where there is one, vary widely. However, the state is continually assuming more authority over education at the elementary and secondary school levels. Permissive regulations are giving way to more mandatory requirements which attempt to place a minimum floor under such aspects of education in the local communities throughout the state as minimum number of days each year schools must be in session, minimum length of the school day, minimum size of school both in number of pupils attending and number of teachers employed within school classifications, minimum expenditures for schools in each community and type of school, salary minimums for teachers, certification requirements for teachers, minimum curriculum offerings in the schools, and numerous other regulations that become "musts," not options, of school districts.

Although the old sentiments and prejudices in favor of local control of education are still strongly felt in almost every

community, the states (with an accelerated pace in recent years) are extending their control over education. Vast changes, particularly at the secondary level, are in the offing. The elimination of small districts for both elementary and secondary school continues. The nature of secondary education makes the problem of the size of the school enrollment doubly important at this educational level. The trend toward the extension of the secondary school program through the fourteenth grade with a greater emphasis upon vocational offerings demands larger district organization, better coordination between secondary school districts, and a radical change in the base of school support. All this suggests that the present trend toward more state-wide responsibility for the administration of secondary education will greatly increase in the years just ahead.

What should be the responsibility of the federal and state governments for secondary education?

FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY: The federal government is in an excellent position to aid secondary education. It now has extensive precedents for all manner of activities in behalf of youth education. The first and primary responsibility that many believe the federal government should assume is the equalization of educational opportunity for all youth. The youths of the poor states should have the same educational opportunities as the youths who, by accident of birth, are favored with splendid school privileges. All educators have agreed that this aid should be made available to each state with a minimum of federal controls. Another activity, now carried on in part through the Office of Education, which should be greatly expanded is that of research and field studies. Excellent work has been done, but the government, through the Office of Education, could do much more directly and in cooperation with state Departments of Education, cities, and educational agencies of national or regional influence. It could stimulate improvement in curriculum and instructional activities through more extensive collection of and reporting on data on innovations and improved educational practices among the secondary schools of the nation, and of other nations. A third type of service, carried on largely through the Office

of Education, is that of a consultative and advisory agency. This has proved most valuable and should be greatly extended. Through the division on secondary education of the Office of Education, invaluable service could be rendered the secondary school through an enlarged and improved advisory and consultative service.

Governmental support of secondary education in the future should be centered in one educational agency such as the present United States Office of Education or a new Department of Education.⁶ Whatever type of organization is given responsibility for education on a national scale should be independent of other branches of the government. This agency should have prestige, be adequately staffed, financed, and clothed with such responsibility as to make it an educational force in the nation. All educational activities of the federal government should arise in this official government division; those that concern the states or particular sub-units of the states should channel through the state Departments of Education. The dualism in the administration of secondary education that has arisen in many states through the efforts of the government to deal directly with the state in its vocational education program has created in many instances unfortunate overlapping, confusions, and rivalries. Vocational education is costly both in equipment and in administration. The federal government can make a real contribution to the educational opportunity of youth by its grants for this and other phases of secondary education. In every case such aid should come through the Office of Education to the state Departments of Education for their administration.

The Civil Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration programs represented an effort by the federal government to meet emergency depression needs of youth in the thirties. The "CCC," as the former organization became known, at first was planned to provide work camps in areas where rapidly depleting national resources might be conserved through building dams, planting trees, making trails through the forest, and other useful work. Later an educational pro-

⁶For convenience the central agency of the federal government concerned with education will hereafter be referred to as the Office of Education.

gram was developed in connection with this organization. The NYA was created in an effort to provide worthy youth a chance to complete their secondary or college education. Each youth was paid a certain sum of money for useful work provided in connection with the school in which the student was enrolled. In some situations the NYA itself set up extensive programs of vocational education which actually came into competition with the regular secondary schools.

This type of governmental program for youth education has been both praised and condemned. Conducted by non-educationally trained leaders, for the most part, the educational programs offered were not always well adapted to the needs of the youth served nor were they always efficiently conducted. It has been argued that the money spent on these programs could have achieved the same purpose better if this money had been spent through the regular secondary schools of the several states and administered directly through state Departments of Education. These programs did suggest, however, an important service that the federal government could render youth in similar situations in the future. The desirability of conserving the major values of these programs as permanent parts of our existing secondary schools or state programs of secondary education is strongly urged by many educators who believe the government should make available for the states a per capita appropriation for the youth sufficient to permit the state to carry on similar activities and avoid the dangers of the federal government's taking over duties that belong to the state.*

STATE RESPONSIBILITY: In our present American system of government the primary responsibility for education rests with the state. The trends point to increased acceptance by the state of this responsibility. Educators are in general agreement that the state should exercise more responsibility for the over-all educational opportunities of youth. To achieve this in the most efficient manner, the over-all responsibility for

*The question of the relationship of the federal government to the state in matters of education is a much debated one. For an extended consideration of the problem the student should read the chapter on "Federal-State Relationships" in Moshlman, Arthur B., *School Administration*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. 861-885.

education within the state should be centered in one non-political agency. A single state Board of Education with a Chief Executive Officer in charge of all educational activities from nursery school to university is the ideal. Only by such a device can secondary education in all of its ramifications be properly coordinated and encouraged.

Education in general, and secondary education in particular, must in the future be thought of more in the total unit perspective of the state and less in the comparative isolation of the small district unit. The secondary school program must be organized on a larger local unit basis and interrelated into a state-wide system of secondary schools. To provide for individual differences in interests and aptitudes, the secondary school in each community must be large enough to provide the staff and the facilities for a diversified program of approximately equal quality for all youths, irrespective of their residence.

The highly desirable trend to extend the secondary school to include the thirteenth and fourteenth grades creates problems which only a state-wide approach to their solution appears possible. The state of New York, with its highly centralized system of education, has proposed a system of Institutes, essentially vocational in nature and similar in size and program offering, distributed over the state. The state was to be divided into large regions with one Institute to serve each region. The youth from the lower level secondary schools within a given region would be free to attend these Institutes. A similar plan is described as an ideal suggested in *Education for All American Youth*.⁷ Here the secondary school, tentatively organized on the 3-3-2 basis, designated the last two-year school units as Community Institutes, with 50 per cent of their time devoted to general education and the other 50 per cent given over to vocational education. The two-year Community Institutes were set up by the regional community and the state Department of Education. The range of basic vocational offerings of each Institute, except those serving agricultural areas, was the same. The special offerings for occupations of limited

⁷Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*, Chaps. II, III. Washington: National Education Association, 1944.

demand and limited enrollments were distributed between the several Institutes of the state. Provision was made for youths desirous of training in one of these limited vocational fields irrespective of regional location.

To make possible such a desirable interlocking and equality of secondary school privilege, the state must take more responsibility for leadership in the reorganization of school districts within the state. Also it must assume a greater obligation for the financial support of the schools to insure equality of the economic burden between school districts. Certainly the state must have authority to approve and coordinate the curriculum offerings of the upper levels of the secondary schools, particularly if the type of balanced vocational offerings is to be made a reality, as proposed in *Education for All American Youth*. Educators believe the picture of state responsibility for schools outlined in this document is sound. It is a prophecy of the type of educational practice we may expect in the future.

To what extent should the local community and the parents be responsible for the school program?

The American schools have always had the tradition of local autonomy. Although the tenth amendment to the Constitution has been interpreted as having left the responsibility for education to the several states, we have seen how reluctant the state has been to impose its will upon the local community in matters of education. Historically, the local community has shown its jealousy of every effort of the state to encroach upon its ancient prerogative. Our failure to develop a more highly coordinated and integrated program of state-wide education has been due mainly to the unwillingness of the local communities to surrender their time-honored control of the schools. Even so, there has been developing in recent years an apparent apathy toward the work of the schools on the part of the rank and file citizen in the local community. This can be partially accounted for by the steady trend away from an agricultural rural life to an industrial urban one. In the small rural community the school and the church are the major institutions around which local interests focus, but this is not true in the

larger urban centers where attention is diverted to so many other phases of community activity. Too, the school has become larger, its physical location farther away from the home, and, in a measure, it is lost in the mass of urban buildings. The personnel of the school in the urban community is no longer personally acquainted with the layman. Further, the technical developments in education and the growing complexity of the school program have baffled the typical layman. All these things taken together have given the average citizen a sense of being a stranger to the school and have discouraged his participation in its activities.

The modern developments in educational theory make closer cooperation between the community and the school imperative. The emphasis upon a functional conception of education means that the school, the home, and the community must unite in creating the proper pupil environment. It is essential that the school know what the actual environmental conditions are in which the youth lives. In turn the parents and the community must know what the educational purposes of the school are. Only in so far as the two groups work together cooperatively and in full understanding of and agreement on the nature and goals of education, can an intelligent and effective program of education be planned. This means that in a real sense modern education envisages the school and the citizens of the community together evolving a program of education for the local community.

School practice, to conform to the ideal of modern education, must get outside of the traditional school room. It is an accepted principle of vocational education today that the youth in training must have direct contact with the vocations in which he is interested. Work experience is a *sine qua non* of those vocationally equipped for a job. Work experience is also advocated for youth not expecting to enter less than the professional level vocations, as a part of general education in such things as: appreciation of physical labor, responsibility on the job, dependability in every respect, the development of tact and skill in dealing with people. By the same token, it is thought just as important that youths should study civic life at first hand. They should become fully familiar with the civic prob-

lems of their community and develop an understanding of, appreciation for, and actual skill in civic life through responsible participation in civic activities. Our better secondary schools, and even the elementary school, are more and more identifying their educational program with community life. They send their students in vocational studies out into the community under agreements with business concerns for practical part-time experience on the job. In civic life the schools increasingly are giving youth experience in the solution of real community problems. One high school, for example, was largely instrumental in assisting its city to adopt a city manager plan of government. Another high school in a small village community attacked the problems of dysentery prevalent in the community. In science class they studied the possible sources of infection, discovered that over 60 per cent of the wells which provided the community with water were contaminated, and decided a water system was the solution to the problem. The students made careful estimates of the costs involved, prepared their case, and sold the village council on the desirability of a water system.

There are many groups of parent-citizens which can be the medium of effective cooperation in the program of the school. The Parent Teachers Associations throughout the nation have shown a fine sense of community responsibility in sharing in the program of the schools. Some time ago the author was visiting a high school in a large urban center. The older people of the community were predominantly of southern European stock; they had come from an agrarian environment and had brought with them the customs and habits of life characteristic of their culture. Now uprooted from their former mode of rugged outdoor life they were adjusting to the more sedentary ways of an urban community with difficulty. The school, through a careful study of the dietary habits of the students who used the school cafeteria, found that most of these students ate an unbalanced diet of heavy foods unsuited to the restricted physical activities of the school and community. It was realized at once that correcting the dietary habits of the students would require the cooperation of the homes. Representatives of the parents, students, and faculty gathered to study the problem and

develop a possible educational program that would insure the correction of the unhealthy dietary habits of the pupils with the cooperation of the parents.

There are many community organizations whose counsel and cooperation should not only be welcomed but sought by the schools. Organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the Grange, Labor, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the American Legion, the Community Council, and the churches must, in the future, be more directly drawn into the work of the school. As an example of such participation, a small village school was concerned with the modernization of its program. At the regular faculty meetings where the possible changes in the school program had been discussed, representatives of the different interests within the community were invited to attend and participate in the consideration of proposed modifications of the school program. One phase of the school's plans involved the formulation of a statement of what the faculty and townspeople thought should be the true purposes of a school in that community. The leading women's organization became interested in attempting to formulate such a statement which would represent the ideas of its own members. When their statement was compared later with the statement developed by the faculty of the school, it was doubtful whether the professional staff had formulated a better statement than that of the laywomen's organization.

What should be the responsibility of the professionally trained administrative staff for the school program?

In the past the administrator has been more concerned with the routine phases of school organization, physical plant, and finances than with the broad social or community significance of the school program. The newer conceptions of education demand a change of emphasis. In the future the administrative elements of the school must keep clearly in mind that all the machinery of the school exists for one purpose—the education of youth to be tomorrow's competent citizens.

The superintendent, principals, their assistants, supervisors,

and counsellors likewise must rid themselves of the older line and staff idea of administration which conceives of the teachers, pupils, and, in some degree, the parents as so many subordinates to be given orders they are expected to carry out with blind obedience. Instead, those in administrative positions must think of themselves as educational leaders, capable of inspiring in others creative thinking, cooperative planning, and group realization of these plans—all within the framework of our modern conceptions of democratic group action. The realization of this ideal in practice, so essential if school administration is to do its part in implementing the purposes of modern education, is a difficult thing to achieve. The nature of the task involved has been admirably and succinctly stated thus:

A part of the solution will depend upon a rethinking of the concepts of educational leadership and a redirection of practice. . . . Many administrators are honestly seeking to advance the cause of democracy in education. But the task is not easy. Tradition must be broken. New patterns of human relationship must be discovered through living together in new ways.⁹

The leadership responsibility of the administrative staff should be thought of in at least three ways: first, the development of a concept of leadership in harmony with the best modern understanding of the nature of learning and the social ideal of democracy. Our understanding of the learning process suggests that behavior patterns will develop in harmony with the educational practices followed in the school. Obedience to rule will surely follow autocratic administrative procedures which demand unquestioned and immediate response to those in authority. Democracy, on the other hand, requires youths capable of thinking constructively about the situations in which they find themselves and conditioned, as a matter of habit, to think and act according to rational conclusions. Such behavior patterns will come only through the exercise of democratic practices in school relationships. The school community, from the superintendent to the youth and parent, should be led to understand and appreciate the principles of democratic pro-

⁹Koopman, G. Robert, *et al.*, *Democracy in School Administration*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1943, pp. 44-45.

cedures in human relationships as part of the educational process. Democratic leadership does not mean the surrender of administrative responsibilities to others. The administrator has certain duties associated with his position. He cannot delegate these to others. He may and should share with all other workers an understanding of what these duties are, share with them the problems involved in the discharge of these duties, and seek their cooperation and counsel as far as is consistent with the nature of the problem so that the discharge of the duties involved may be done as effectively as possible. Many with administrative functions have received valuable suggestions from the teaching staff, parents, and even from pupils. There is no surer way of developing an understanding of the meaning of democracy and an insight into the processes by which a true democracy functions.

The second important aspect of the responsibility of administrative leadership is that of developing a type of educational environment in the school consistent with the democratic ideal. There are two major phases of this: the first requires the formation of a plan that will make it possible for the entire personnel of the school and the community to work together on common tasks. This is particularly important for the secondary school program where vocational and civic activities require actual and vital participation in community life. At one point it may be the fostering of an organization that will enable administration, teachers, and parents in the community to get together to think about educational problems and cooperate in their practical solution. If the school is more ideally organized for an expression of the democratic way, students may be included also in an organization of this sort, known as the Parent Teacher Student Association. Where practical vocational education concerns are involved, the group organization of business industrial leaders and the school may serve as a clearing house for the consideration of problems in this area; and where the best education of youth necessitates direct contacts with the community, such as work experience, these matters can be worked out to the best interests of all parties. The other phase of this problem involves the setting up of the proper democratic environment within the school itself. A flexible type of

school organization is necessary; one that provides for change as group living suggests. This implies that the administration has an organization that is at all times sensitive to the thinking of all groups in the school. To provide the best possible environment for growth in democratic habits of thinking and practice, the largest possible measure of group participation in the formulation of the organization and rules governing the life of the school should be provided. If the most suitable provisions of physical plant, equipment, and supplies are to be made, the administration should have the cooperation of principals, supervisors, and teachers in studying the needs of the school, and their counsel as to the best that may be obtained under the limitations of budgets and materials should be available. The administrator should not attempt to solve all the administrative problems in the school by himself. A new superintendent in a medium-sized school indicated at an early staff meeting what the budget allotment was for library materials. As had been his democratic practice in previous schools, he suggested that the teachers study their needs and prepare their lists of books and materials desired. The teachers were nonplused at such a request, because previous principals and supervisors had made those selections in years past without consultation with the teachers.

The third aspect of the responsibility of the administrative leadership of the school is coordinating and integrating the activities of the local school with the over-all regional or state-wide programs. Democratic leadership, even here, would not attempt to determine these issues without the fullest participation of the school personnel and community. Full understanding of such limiting factors upon the freedom of the local school and the reasons therefor, even though nothing can be done about it, creates a wholesome attitude on the part of all concerned. Valuable suggestions may be obtained as to ways and means of coordinating the local school program with that of the region or state. Where a well-developed program of Community and Regional Institutes is in existence or is planned, as in the integrated program of secondary education outlined in *Education for All American Youth*, it is important that the best thinking of all elements in the school situation be pooled.

What responsibility should the teacher have in the development of the program?

Modern education places the teacher at the very center of the educational program. The responsibility of the teacher for this program today is far greater than it was in the yesterdays when "lesson learning" was the chief task of the pupil. As education was visualized in past generations, the teacher accepted the program prepared by those considered to be experts in what youth should know. The teacher then undertook responsibility, by the device of "lesson hearing" and drill, of insuring that youths had mastered the facts and mechanical skills deemed by others as the *sine qua non* of education. Today with the emphasis upon the development in youth of the action patterns consistent with the democratic ideal, the teacher has assumed greater importance in the total scheme of the school organization. Mochlman, in a discussion of the functional conception of modern education in relation to the total administrative organization of the school, points out a number of elements that make up the total administrative activity. In reference to the place of the teacher in the total activities of school administration, he makes these pertinent statements:

Analysis of the executive activity should start with purpose. Since instruction is the supreme purpose, it is the most important of all activities in which the school engages . . . instruction is . . . the most important aspect of the executive activity. . . . While all nine of these elements are involved in the executive process and are of *relatively* equal importance, their final evaluation must be the degree to which they serve and facilitate direct instruction. The teacher is the most important agent in the instructional process, and all other specialized personnel must be considered purely as facilitating agents to make the work of the teacher proceed more efficiently. . . . When public school personnel is properly oriented in terms of function, the teacher becomes the most important agent in the executive activity, correlative with instruction as the supreme purpose for the organization and operation of the schools.⁹

⁹Mochlman, Arthur B., *School Administration*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. 232, 260.

Since the teacher is in such a key position in the school organization, his responsibility for the educational program of the school becomes correspondingly great. The fact that all the other activities of the school and its personnel exist to facilitate the work of the teacher leads to one logical conclusion—that in modern education the total personnel of the school must co-operatively think, plan, and, in a measure, execute together the school's educational program. The responsibility of the teacher in relation to the educational program becomes more and more complex.

The teacher becomes responsible, with the school staff and community representatives, in the determination of the purposes of the task of the school. It is a fully accepted axiom of modern education that no teacher can help others attain goals they themselves do not perceive. One of the principal weaknesses of education in the past has been that teachers were asked to teach things the use or value of which they did not understand. The teacher must see the program of education in the perspective of the major purposes of education in a democratic society; and his part in that program as definitely related to these major purposes. The teacher, for example, who is immediately responsible for the preparation of youths for certain vocations, needs to see the relationship of that preparation to the broad purposes as well as the more specific goals of that vocational education. The teacher should be able to see the needs of the educand for other behavior competencies within the larger pattern of his effective participation in the manifold activities of democratic citizenship. Only as all personnel of the school work together to determine what these purposes are, can the teacher fulfill his responsibility to his pupils, the school, and the community.

Closely related to the determination of the purpose of the school program is the teacher's responsibility in planning the nature and organization of the program. This is not a separate activity from that of the determination of the over-all and more limited purposes of the educational program. It cannot be too often repeated that the total program of the school must be thought of as a unitary one. Planning the nature of the pro-

gram is but a single phase of a multiple or interrelated activity. As the teacher must see the over-all and related purposes, he must likewise see the nature of the program that needs to be set up to realize these purposes.

Modern curriculum building programs are generally organized on the assumption that the teacher who is to execute the programs developed cannot do so intelligently unless he has participated in their development. It is assumed that although the school personnel and the community together will plan the major outline of the educational program, development of the details must be the responsibility of the teacher. In conformity with this principle of teacher responsibility, local school and state curriculum and course-of-study development programs are composed largely of teachers. A cursory examination of curriculum bulletins of state departments of education and local school systems will reveal the extent to which recognition is given the teacher as a vital factor in the development of any educational program. The older "courses of study," which were compiled mostly by administrators and educational experts, were compendiums of minute detail both as to content to be used and the methods to be employed. Modern courses of study in which the teachers have had the principal responsibility of formulation are given over largely to suggestions both as to content and procedures. The preparation of these "courses of study" as suggestive guides to teachers is emphasized. The more recent so-called "courses of study" are no longer designated as such, but are given some such title as, "Suggestive Teaching Guides" or "Suggestive Curriculum Guides for Teachers."

Within the past decade and a half there has been a rapid shift in the degree to which teachers have participated with administrators and laymen in developing the local school curriculum. The modern conception of the curriculum as primarily concerned with pupil experiences rather than with subject-matter has encouraged this change of emphasis, along with a more realistic acceptance of democracy in school practice as basic in education. To interpret the curriculum as concern for the nature of the learner's experiences has further emphasized the importance of the teacher in the development of the edu-

cational program. Scarcely a school of any size that seriously considers the organization of a curriculum revision program in this day neglects placing major responsibility for the development of that program in the hands of the teachers.

Everywhere teacher dominated groups are at work on the school program. Many cities have developed curriculum councils that are made up largely of teachers to plan the educational program of the school. During the summer, schools in increasing numbers are setting up workshops, where, for several weeks at school expense, teachers, administrators, and laymen spend their entire time planning the school program. Almost every large university or Teachers College now conducts summer workshops where at times entire school faculties come to plan a revision of the educational program for their community, or smaller groups join with each other to make up a workshop for such study. Universities and Teachers Colleges have established well-equipped curriculum laboratories where individuals or groups can find help in the design of their own programs or those of the schools.

Recognition of teacher responsibility for the general planning of the school program on the basis of a realistic facing of the implications of the democratic process in relation to the nature of learning leads to another logical phase of the problem. Responsibility for the development of an educational program inevitably involves a consideration of means by which the school program can be made effective. It would be unrealistic for the teacher to participate in, and accept responsibility for, a program of education without a consideration of how such a program is to be implemented. It is the logic of this position which has given the teacher claims to the right to participate in the larger administrative functions of the school. The unitary nature of the modern conception of the school task is here again made evident. The significance of the previous phases of the total responsibility for program planning, in fact, depends upon the possibilities of carrying out the program efficiently.

There are two facets in this aspect of the problem: how can the total organization of the school be set up to carry through a program so planned? If the organization of the school is

limited in vital ways that would suggest a modification of the program in the ideal, to what extent should the teacher have responsibility in the determination of the organization that is possible? Sometimes, for example, the educational programs coveted as the ideal require freedom from restrictions imposed by law or regulations of state Departments of Education. Frequently they involve simply a matter of change of policy for the local administration. The second facet involves the adequacy of the physical facilities of plant, equipment, and supplies for the implementation of a desirable program. The teacher who has become such a vital factor in the modern educational program cannot discharge his responsibilities adequately unless he can plan cooperatively with the administrative staff on these important matters. To be able to plan simultaneously the educational program and the possible means of its effective implementation is essential to the success of any modern school program. At the secondary level the professional competency of the teaching staff, measured by the educational attainments of the group, means that many of the teachers have equal, and, in not a few cases, superior professional preparation to that of the superintendents, principals, and supervisors with whom they work. The tendency toward differentiation of professional preparation makes the sharing of responsibility desirable, and adds to the *esprit de corps* of the group as well.

In a recent summer workshop conducted for several school groups, the value as well as the necessity for teacher-administrator cooperation in planning the facilitation of the school program was fully demonstrated. During the preceding year much planning of a new educational program for the school had taken place. A certain amount of confusion and even irritation had arisen at times when the group had been informed by the superintendent that phases of the program proposed appeared to be impractical in that school system. With the superintendent and all the administrative personnel sitting around tables or in small informal groups with teachers, these problems took on a new significance. The administration, when the full implications of the plans were understood, found it possible, with the teachers, to explore feasible ways in which

school organization and school facilities might be adjusted to care for the proposed changes in the educational program. Where there were obstacles that appeared insurmountable legally, financially, or in terms of physical facilities, it led to a sympathetic understanding on the part of the teachers. In some instances the sharing of their thinking and planning together over a six-weeks summer period led to modifications of the program that overcame apparent obstacles, or, on the other hand, teachers' suggestions that indicated ways in which apparent obstacles could be removed by moderate modifications or adaptation of the existing school organization and facilities. The result of this six-weeks experience gave the teachers a better understanding of the administrative problems of the school and an equally valuable appreciation of their administrative leaders as partners. The administration, on the other hand, saw the teachers as eager, competent, professional workers whose pooled judgments were invaluable in the solution of baffling administrative problems that stood in the way of a recognized worth-while educational program.

A fourth responsibility of the teacher in the development of the school program is an approach to the program in cooperation with the parents and other citizens of the community. It has been emphasized again and again in this book that modern education cannot function satisfactorily without the full cooperation of the parents and the community. They must understand clearly what the educational program of the school is all about and actively work for its realization. This can only be achieved in fullest measure when the parents and other citizens have had a part in the formulation of that program. Heretofore, whatever recognition was given to this problem, it was assumed to be an administrative responsibility. Now it is realized that the very nature of the teacher's place in modern education makes him an important agent of the school in establishing school-community relationships. As teachers and members of the community cooperate in educational planning, they develop that necessary mutuality of understanding of each other's problems in the education of youth. They are better able to set up those learning situations both in school and out that insure a twenty-four-hour continuity of the desired

educational impact upon the learner. Since the teachers come into most direct contact with the pupil outside of the community itself, these two groups carry the major responsibility for developing the most effective program of education for youth.

Should the adolescent himself be asked to accept some responsibility in the planning of his education?

A generation ago this question would have been regarded as heretical in educational circles. When experts were supposed to have almost exclusive responsibility for planning what youth should study, the pupil was expected to accept what was offered, taking its value for granted without any clear perception of its relation to his ultimate goals. Today education is considered to be valuable, or even be possible, only in so far as the youth sees his activities as related to well-defined goals which he understands and accepts as his own. John Dewey has repeatedly emphasized that learning can take place only in relation to goals clearly perceived and desired, and this point of view is now commonly accepted by educational authorities. One educational psychologist has defined learning as "Activity under tension toward a goal." Another writer has given a more elaborate definition of learning:

Learning may be defined as the progressive change in behavior which is associated, on the one hand, with successive presentations of a situation, and on the other, with repeated efforts of the individual to react to it effectively. Learning may also be thought of as the acquisition of ways of satisfying motives or of attaining goals.¹⁰

In another connection this writer asserts that "Learning cannot be successful or efficient without persistent, selective, and purposeful effort."¹¹ The concept of "purposiveness" in learning is accepted in modern education as fundamental. Practically applied, this means that the school program must be so set up that youth will see his cherished purposes clearly as

¹⁰From Gates, Arthur L., et al., *Educational Psychology*, p. 299. New York. Copyright, 1942 by The Macmillan Company, and used with their permission.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 317.

goals in the program. It means also that he must see in the day-by-day processes a definite relationship between these processes and the goals he would seek. This does not mean that the school program must await the discovery of youth's goals, before planning the program accordingly. The school personnel, and particularly the teacher, has a responsibility to help youths interpret their basic desires in terms of purposes that, in the longer perspective, are more desirable than the immediate, often transitory, goals they set for themselves. They must be helped to identify themselves with their culture; and to see that their own basic needs and desires are best realized in terms of long-range goals.

As in the case of the teacher, or any other member of the school personnel, the pupil cannot see his goals clearly or identify elements of the school program as truly contributory to his goals, unless he has had a part in planning the educational program. There are larger aspects of the program of the school which may not directly concern him. His responsibility in program development may be limited mainly to those aspects of the total program that vitally affect his own purposes. Nonetheless, he should be able to see and relate his goals as part of the larger school program.

The part a youth should have in planning his education is dependent also on the consideration of another important aspect of the educative process: the fundamental relationship between the educational process and the kind of behavior patterns necessary for effective living in a democratic society. Democracy, as has been pointed out previously, requires behavior competencies that are different from those demanded in most contemporary cultures. The American citizen must be so educated that he can measure up to the full stature of the responsibilities placed upon him in those words of Abraham Lincoln—government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Such a citizen must have developed abilities to think, to make logical decisions, and to carry out those decisions efficiently. This means facility in group action where goals of the group must be set, plans made for their achievement, and the plans carried out. In other words, the youth must have those experiences in the school environment that will develop

him those behavior competencies necessary for his successful functioning in democratic living. As Moehlman has so well served:

If children and adults are trained and encouraged to develop in democratic competency, the practice of democracy must be a part of institutional routine. Democracy can be successfully taught not by imposition on pandatory basis from above, but rather through the stimulation of reflective thinking by the agency which is attempting to make democratic proposals successful. . . . Democratic organization must provide for freedom of the individual in accord with the individual's capacity to conform within the pattern of rules essential to operation.²²

In no other way, then, can democratic education take place except through the assumption by youth of some measure of responsibility for the school program. It is not sufficient to assign him tasks about the school; he must understand the need for these tasks in terms of accepted goals and, further, must see his participation in the realization of these goals as desirable and necessary. He must accept these responsibilities freely, even eagerly. The widely used device of student participation in government has often failed and fallen into disrepute because school administrations have assigned this role to the students. Usually, under these circumstances responsibility for disciplinary policing has been the principal task handed over to the student body. Student participation in, and responsibility for, the community life of the school is a highly effective means for developing skills in cooperative democratic living. It must bring, however, from the youth of the school sensing the desirability of such activity and identifying participation in it as part of his own purposes. Today schools are bringing youths to the very heart of the cooperative planning of the school program.

At the opening of school in September a faculty which had appraised with the program of the school for six weeks in a university-conducted workshop that summer decided to put the modern principles of democratic education to a real test. Youth that community for years had had a vital part in the life of the school; thus, they had some measure of experience in demo-

²²Moehlman, Arthur B., *School Administration*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. 252-259.

cratic living. It was decided by the faculty that the high school student body on the opening day of school should be informed of the summer efforts of the faculty to estimate what kind of educational program would contribute most to the youth of that community. The pupils were invited to spend some time with the faculty and in groups by themselves thinking over what the school should do the coming year. These youths were faced with such questions as: "What goals have you set for yourselves in life?" "What do you think society has a right to expect of you?" "What do you think is the responsibility of the school toward our democratic society and toward you?" "What responsibilities do you consider you have to the school?" "How do you think the school can help you attain your goals?" "What suggestions can you offer for the program of the school for the year?" A full week was devoted to a consideration of such fundamental questions. It was democracy in action at a very high level. The faculty was enthusiastic about the response of the students. It created a sense of unity and excellent rapport throughout the school. The democratic educational processes loosed at the beginning of the school were continued through the year.

The importance as well as the ability of youth's acceptance of responsibility in planning the program is revealed in the experience of a teacher of English. A class of boys with low mentality, a so-called "terminal education group," was enrolled in a traditional course in rhetoric. The class was bored with a course largely devoted to the study of abstract grammatical rules which meant little to them. They did not see any relationship between what they were studying and their anticipated vocations. The teacher, convinced of the value of her subject, was pained at the obvious lack of interest in the class. Finally, in desperation, the teacher put the matter squarely up to the class. She recognized frankly their lack of interest and sought their cooperation in making the course serve their needs. The boys pointed out that in their anticipated jobs as foremen they would need to give clear and concise instructions orally and in writing to workers under them, and they would be expected to explain clearly the operation and parts of machinery being used. They did not think the course was teaching them compe-

tencies for these important duties of their future vocations. A committee was appointed to work out suggestions for class activities which the students thought would give them the desired preparation. When the report of the committee was handed to the teacher, activities were planned for every day of the remainder of the year. The boys' plan involved practice before the class giving instructions and descriptions orally, and in turn being criticized and corrected by the class and teacher. Exercises in written instructions and descriptions of the operation or parts of machinery were included. Panel discussions and debates on problems the boys knew would arise in this vocation were suggested. The teacher reported that with few changes, cooperatively agreed upon, the course was so taught the rest of the year. From indifferent students the boys became aroused, thoroughly interested, and eagerly participating in the class activities. This provided a revelation to the teacher: it revealed what could happen when students saw a definite functional connection between their goals and the processes involved in the educational program. She came to have a profound respect for the ability of the group to think critically, to plan, and to evaluate intelligently what they were doing. She also discovered they knew much more about functional communication techniques than their study of formal grammar had revealed.

How much responsibility for the secondary school program should national, regional, or institutional education agencies assume?

The extent to which educational groups without legal status should assume responsibility for the secondary school program has long been a debated question. That these various agencies have exercised tremendous influence upon the secondary school at times cannot be doubted. Among those groups of national scope that have influenced education by the sheer force of their prestige, is the National Education Association. Since 1893, when the Committee of Ten made its historic report, the program of the secondary school has been profoundly affected by the statements concerning secondary

education by the National Education Association. As pointed out in considerable detail earlier in this book, the Committee of Ten by its recommendations virtually paralyzed the development of secondary education along democratic lines for over a quarter of a century. Our secondary school program still reflects much of that baneful influence. The report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, made in 1918, by its tremendous influence has gone far to overcome the unfortunate effects of the 1893 National Education Association pronouncements. The recent attempt on the part of the N.E.A., through the Educational Policies Commission, to influence the program of the secondary school is further evidence of its power. The publications *Learning the Ways of Democracy*, and *Education for All American Youth*, two of the principal publications of the Educational Policies Commission, have exerted a tremendous influence on the contemporary secondary school program. This influence has been as beneficent for secondary education as it has been great. Without doubt the National Education Association, through all its affiliated national and state educational organizations, will continue to exert a tremendous influence on education in general and secondary education in particular. Many educators believe that the National Education Association should become even more powerful as the official but non-legal spokesman for the teaching profession.

There are other educational organizations that have assumed a large measure of responsibility for the secondary school as research or inspirational stimulus agencies. The National Council on Education, for example, set up the National Youth Commission in the middle thirties to study the educational problems of youth. The Progressive Education Association, now the American Education Fellowship, has promoted vanguard thinking in education and sponsored the Eight-Year Study in secondary education. The American Educational Research Association has devoted its efforts to research problems at all levels of education. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers has tried to bring the school and community into cooperative study of school betterment. The activities of these organizations have been of real value to

the schools. Every encouragement should be offered them to continue their contributions to educational knowledge and practice.

Among the extra-legal agencies which attempt a semi-legislative relationship to the secondary school program are the area associations of colleges and secondary schools of which the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is probably the most powerful. These associations have set up accrediting standards both for the colleges and the secondary schools. Secondary schools which do not meet the standards of training of teachers and administrators or do not maintain educational facilities set up by these associations find their graduates at a disadvantage if they wish to attend a college or university which is a member of the associations. In recent years much criticism has been made of the influence these organizations have exerted over the programs of the secondary school. When the standards of these associations are forward-looking and represent helpful and progressive thinking, the exercise of such influence serves as a stimulus to better education. There is a danger that standards, which were in the vanguard of educational thinking when they were set up, may become crystallized and serve as deterrents. As this is written the North Central Association is just emerging from such an unfortunate situation. Long after some standards had become obsolescent in modern educational thinking, many secondary schools were handicapped by the once educationally advanced standards of the Association.

Such agencies, on the whole, have been valuable spurs to a better quality of secondary education. To the extent to which they keep abreast or ahead of current educational theory and to the extent the colleges do not foist on the secondary school programs the ancient chains of college entrance emphasis, these organizations may continue to render a real service to the secondary schools. As secondary education moves its program further from the orbit of the college to serve the non-college-bound youth, there may be a question of the exaggerated importance the colleges now have in such organizations as the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The historic conditions that gave rise to their creation have

largely faded from the contemporary picture. The state universities used to exert great influence over secondary schools through accreditation standards devised by the institutions themselves. Some state universities still assume this responsibility; but the activities of the regional associations of which they are a part, such as the North Central Association, have largely substituted for separate institutional accreditation. Too, as the secondary school program is designed increasingly to serve primarily the 80 per cent who do not go on to college, the assumption of such responsibility by state universities is open to question.

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Questions and Problems

1. Work out a committee report for your class on Henry Barnard's thirty years of work to get the U.S. Office of Education established. How many Commissioners of Education have there been? Who is the present Commissioner? To what extent, if any, is his tenure dependent upon political changes?
2. In your own state what percentage of the total cost of elementary and secondary education is contributed by the state? Compare your figures with those of other states.
3. How well does your state make financial provision for the equalization of educational costs? Make a case for or against federal aid to your state.
4. What is the name of the land grant college in your state? Is it part of, or separate from, your state university? Compare, for instance, California, Kansas, Minnesota, and New York.
5. Study and compare the compulsory attendance laws of your own state with those of other states. What exceptions are there? Is child labor permitted in spite of laws? Are the laws generally adequate?
6. What did the Civilian Conservation Corps accomplish in your state? Could it have functioned as well or better as part of the public school organization? Should the federal government set up separate agencies of an educational nature in times of economic crisis?
7. From first-hand knowledge list the service-to-community activities of one or more high schools. Are these activities educationally worth while or "fads and frills"? Does their number increase or decrease in time of war? Discuss their values for either the pupil or the community.
8. What is the present status of publicly owned school lands in your

state? Have they been sold or are they producing revenue for schools? What use is made of any income from your own state school lands?

9. List the various bodies or authorities that have general direction over elementary, secondary, vocational, teacher, and higher education in your state. What about schools for the handicapped, such as the blind and the deaf?
10. How does a teacher get a license to teach in your state? What qualifications and procedures are involved? How may a teacher lose his license to teach? Who has the final authority?
11. Prepare arguments for a class discussion on the establishment of a Department of Education with the secretary or head a member of the President's Cabinet.
12. Mention communities with which you are familiar where parents, teachers, and pupils participate in the formation of school policy and in the determination of the curriculum program.
13. List several criteria by which you could determine whether the citizens of a community were interested in and willing to support the school program.
14. Look over the curriculum bulletins issued by the Department of Education in your state. Are they general guides for the teacher or minutely detailed plan books? Compare a modern bulletin with one of the older type.
15. Analyze the skills you will need as a teacher to be able to participate effectively in policy formation and determination of the curriculum program. Are you lacking any of the skills of group work? How do you propose to become proficient in the skills needed for cooperative democratic living?
16. Interview several parents and get their ideas on what the school program should be.

CHAPTER XIII

HOW MAY SUCH A PROGRAM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION BE EFFECTIVELY ORGANIZED?

How can one organize the program on an area, state, and national basis?

How on an area basis? The discussion of federal and state responsibility for the program of secondary education has suggested the basic problem of the organization of secondary education above the local community level. The nature of secondary education, with the inclusion of the thirteenth and fourteenth grades added to the traditional secondary school program, makes it highly impractical for every small community to maintain a complete program of secondary education. Very small enrollments for many of the vocational courses would make it impractical to offer a sufficient variety of courses necessary to meet the educational needs of the youths enrolled. The heavy financial costs of an adequate program of vocational offerings would make such a plan further prohibitive for a small community.

Sound practices in school administration have recognized that the organization of the secondary school should include a large enough unit enrollment to make the offering of a sufficient variety of courses on a pupil per capita basis economically feasible. This has always been a problem in the smaller communities, even when the stress was upon the more traditional academic curriculum. Even if the old district system elementary schools of one or two rooms were maintained, the secondary school would need a larger base. Some states, for example, developed permissive legislation that encouraged a number of communities to block out an independent high school district with a sufficiently large potential secondary school en-

rollment to at least support an academic curriculum. The rapid increase in secondary school enrollments of large numbers who will not go on to colleges or professional schools, the increased holding power of the secondary school, the extension of secondary education to include the thirteenth and fourteenth years, the frank recognition of the need for a more functional type of education for those who terminate their formal education with the secondary school have all given impetus to the organization of the secondary school on a still larger geographical-population base.

The future organizational pattern of the secondary school, whether it develops on the present 3-3-2 pattern or on the more probable 4-4 basis, clearly points to a large area organizational pattern for the upper division of the secondary school. The 4-4 organizational form would seem to provide the best basis for local and area schools. In any event, the upper division of the entire secondary school will emphasize vocational, and to some extent preprofessional, preparation. The offerings should be sufficiently varied to provide a reasonable breadth of vocational choice to meet the major needs of the students of the area. As has been so well pointed out in *Education for All American Youth*, there will be some vocations the preparation for which may be considered a legitimate obligation of the secondary school, but, because of a limited demand for such training, could not with economic justification be offered in every area school. The programs of the several area schools should be so planned that preparation for certain vocations which employ large numbers of people will be made available in almost all schools. On the other hand, those vocations of limited employment demands which are of acknowledged importance to the civic welfare should be so parceled out among the area schools of the state that within the state a qualified student might have the opportunity to prepare for the vocation of his choice.¹

The area districts should be organized on a functional basis so that the school will serve all parts of the area. Where a geographical area is predominantly urban in character with

¹See the plan for area community institutes to meet this problem suggested in Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*, Chap. III, IV, V. Washington: National Education Association, 1944.

industrial, business, and distributive occupations as the major outlet for the product of the upper regional school, the regional district, as far as possible, should be organized to serve the interests of these groups. The same principle should apply to those areas where agriculture is the main interest with some business and distributive occupations represented in the rural non-farm villages or small incorporated urban towns serving these large rural agricultural areas. A functional school program can be better organized under such circumstances to emphasize the distinctive needs of each area. They should be organized also in some over-all relational pattern to each other. An effort should be made to equalize educational opportunity for all youth. The area centers of upper level secondary schools should be so distributed throughout the state as to provide approximately the same accessibility to an area school for all youths. It is recognized, however, that concentration of population in some sections of the state may make some area districts geographically smaller than others in order to serve approximately the same school populations.

The organization of the area districts should provide transportation facilities for those residing far enough away to make attendance a burden. Where the distance may be so great, as may happen in sparsely settled areas, as to make transportation impractical, either a subsistence allowance to permit residence near the school or the establishment of dormitories to house these students should be provided. Where it is necessary for students to attend schools in areas outside their own, full provision for subsistence and transportation should be provided. Tuition should be provided free for all students within the area districts as well as for those students who need to attend a distant school for vocational training in a limited vocation.

The financial organization of the several area schools should equalize the burden for all citizens in supporting the basic program carried on in all schools. At the same time, more alert communities should have some freedom to enrich their offerings as long as they are willing to put forth the extra financial effort. The cost of maintenance of such an area program should be carefully estimated. A reasonable tax levy should be determined to support all or part of this program. Each regional

community should carry the same minimum tax burden. The poorer districts should expect that deficiencies in the amount of revenue from local school taxes will be made up from state aids or from federal assistance available to the state for the specific purpose of equalizing the costs of such a program.¹

Consideration of the upper level division of the secondary school in its regional and interregional setting should not lead to a neglect of a carefully related pattern of secondary education below this top level and closely integrated with the elementary school. This integration of the educational system at all levels has been considered at length in previous chapters. Whether the pattern of educational units follows the 6-3-3-2, or the 6-4-4, or the still more probable organizational pattern of the 4-4-4-4, the larger regional unit of organization is being emphasized in the unit reorganization now taking place. The necessity for such a large, integrated unit, particularly for secondary education, is recognized by educational leaders as the only sound basis on which to build the organization and administration of modern secondary education.

How on a state basis? The success of the program of secondary education envisaged, or of any similar program organized on the principle of equality of opportunity and of financial burden, requires a state-wide basis of organization in at least four major particulars. The first involves the authority by the state Department of Education, of course in cooperation with area school authorities, to coordinate properly the activities of the area schools. This must include the proper location of each area school geographically in relation to the surrounding area served to insure a truly functional school program. Likewise state-wide planning is essential if all parts of the state are to be included in a balanced program of area secondary education. Experience in those states where permissive legislation has allowed communities to carve out a high school district to meet minimum requirements of population and financial area support has given abundant proof of the inadequacy of

¹The student should read carefully the proposed means of financing such area schools as here suggested, found specifically in Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*. Washington: National Education Association, 1944, pp. 344-347. It will be observed that the proposals made above are essentially those outlined by the Educational Policies Commission.

such *laissez-faire* relationships between the state and its educational subdivisions. Such procedures have led to the most grotesque types of geographical districts, and denial of elemental educational opportunity to small areas ignored by those creating the districts. Only a policy of state authority for planning and approval of regional school districts will make probable a unified coordinated program of secondary education for the state.

To insure the kind of secondary education leaders of education now advocate, the state must have the power to set up general minimum standards for all schools in the state. This authority most states now exercise very cautiously through their state Departments of Education. Certification of teachers, attendance regulations, minimum length of school day and school year, and minimum curriculum offerings are among the powers which now belong to most states. In the interests of democracy in education the largest freedom consistent with an over-all program of education for all youths of the state should be permitted the area and local schools. It is important, however, that the organization of a state-wide system of education enable the state to see that the functional program set up as an ideal is actually realized. It is a travesty on education when a secondary school in one community uncritically tries to ape that of another community. This has been especially a fault of rural communities which, under the stimulus of the college-preparatory ideal of the past generation, have so often insisted upon offering rural youth in agricultural areas a straight academic curriculum.

The organization of financial support of education on a state-wide basis is possibly the most important feature in a state plan of school organization. Any attempt to equalize educational opportunity that does not provide at least a state basis of financial support for poor school districts must fail. State control of a large segment of school finances also gives the state the opportunity to see that desirable educational program standards are realized. In caution it needs be said that the exercise of such financial controls may prove to be inimical at times to the best educational developments when it is placed in the hands of officials of legalistic or small minds. To equalize

secondary education within the several area districts proposed, the state educational authorities must be in a position to supplement through state funds the money raised through the minimum local tax levies. Where students find it necessary to go to regional schools outside their own districts, state-aid funds should be available to support them. The state support of area schools should, of course, include all segments of the school system from local nursery school to area secondary school and adult educational programs.

If the state is to provide the superior leadership implied in the kind of broad administrative powers and duties outlined above, the organization of the state central educational department must provide for a very high quality of trained personnel. Unfortunately, in most states the superintendents and principals in the better schools receive salaries much above those paid to their state Department of Education officials. Salary inducements at least equal to, if not superior to, those offered the top school administrators in the state must become the rule. Freedom from political appointment or continuance in office must be a protection that will attract capable men to the state. If the state Departments of Education were clothed with the possibilities for strong leadership, it is probable that men of ability, courage, educational training, and vision would be attracted to positions. Where states have made their state Departments of Education attractive by superior salaries, freedom from political control, and challenging opportunities for service, they are marked by the quality of the men in office and the attainment of high educational achievements.

How on a national basis? At the present time some phases of secondary education are organized on a national basis. The government, through the vocational aid program, is organized on a national basis through the Office of Education to Vocational Education Boards within the several states. Inasmuch as it has been suggested previously⁴ that all federal responsibility for education should be channeled through the Office of Education, the logic of this suggestion would organize the secondary school program in its national aspects in the Office of Education. To provide the necessary finances to equalize edu-

⁴See the discussion of this problem in the previous chapter.

cational opportunity between states, the federal government should make funds available to the Office of Education to be administered and apportioned to the several state Departments of Education. The Office of Education should be organized to conduct in its own right studies and research on problems of secondary education, and to sponsor cooperative studies and research on secondary school problems on a national scale involving states and their subdivisions. Some of the most vital information in the field of secondary education can be secured only by some agency organized on a national basis. The Office of Education is at present organized as a statistical clearing house for school data inclusive of important facts about secondary education. It provides consultative services of many kinds. All these functions should be enlarged under the organized division on secondary education of the Office of Education.

To what extent should the program be organized on the basis of large functional units?

The practice in the organization of our educational districts has been to follow the geographical boundaries of our political units almost entirely. In cities, school district boundaries are generally coterminous with those of the municipality. In some states, as in Indiana, the political township unit has become the school unit. In several states, as Oregon, larger county units of school organization have been proposed to eliminate the very small school districts. These have used the political unit of the county as the geographical boundaries of the county school unit. In most of our states the familiar unit known as the county has usually been used to provide a weak educational administrative unit principally supervising the one- or two-room district schools within the county.

These patterns of school district organization do not follow natural community boundary lines. Political organizational units throughout most of the United States followed the scheme of sectional block surveys. These divided the new territory into sections one mile square and townships six miles square, and, in turn, counties usually followed a similar but larger square block of townships. Since the surveys set up the

block type of geographical political unit, these units did not follow physical contours that separated people into natural living communities. A river might very effectively determine a natural community for people but the school district, following the political unit boundaries embracing territory on both sides of the river, would split natural communities for educational purposes. Or, again, people located in a corner of a political and school township unit frequently found their natural community interest in a village or urban center just across the township line, and the district school might be several miles in the opposite direction. Thus, the political and school unit created an artificial center for school purposes, but for all other purposes of socio-economic life the children were separated into other more natural community groupings.

The notable exception to this inflexible and often artificial form of school unit organization is to be found in the old colonial New England town. Since these New England towns arose out of the early settlements of the colonists, they followed functional patterns of geographical boundaries. A valley might become the area of a community settlement. Rivers and mountains or other natural physical geographical contours that determined the nature of the community settlement became the fixed boundaries for political and school activities. In size these towns compare roughly with our townships, though by the nature of their geographical boundary limitations they are irregular in form and vary in size.

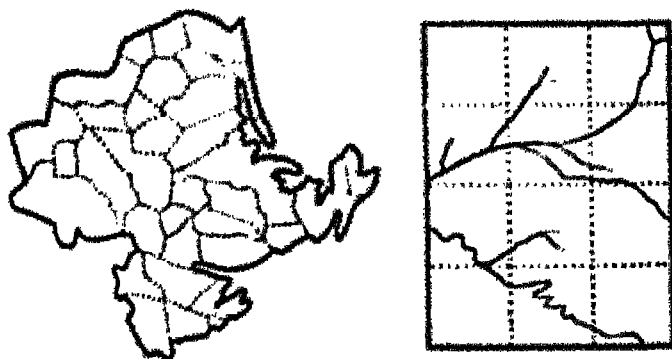


FIGURE IX. IRREGULAR SHAPED NEW ENGLAND COUNTY AND TOWNS COMPARED WITH UNIFORMLY SQUARE SHAPED COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP OF THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES

Modern education with its emphasis upon active participation in community life needs a natural community situation in which to fulfill its functions effectively. The modern school as a community educational center for children and adults will be very greatly handicapped in its educational program unless a natural community exists. Fortunately, the emphasis upon larger and more natural community units of school organization has led to a break with the old political unit, at least in respect to the smaller districts. For both elementary and secondary school purposes small districts have been changed in reorganization plans that bring these smaller units into a natural alignment with the village or urban center which provides the normal outlet for socio-economic life of the people. As yet it has been difficult for schools to break across county political units because most states and their subdivisions have been organized for financial purposes on the county political unit basis. These traditional barriers of practice must be broken down to permit more functional school unit organization. The desirability of a functional community situation in which the school activities take place, however, must be recognized as the ideal. It will not be possible in all area school districts to attain the practical ideal. Natural communities are increasingly difficult to determine in terms of exact geographical boundaries. Besides, in our modern society, community units are becoming geographically more fluid. Developments in communication and transportation are rendering the geographical boundaries and even the center of area communities relatively unstable. It is only an approximation of the ideal that may be achieved.⁴

The trends toward larger educational administrative units which are based upon the natural functional needs of the community are symptomatic of future developments in school administrative organization. The area basis of secondary school organization assumes that existing political units will be ignored, except where the political unit coincides with the natural basis of the proposed area unit. In a few instances these func-

⁴For a good discussion of the problem of communities and their unstable nature see Martin, R. R., "Community—The World in Miniature," in Pendell, Elmer, et al., *Society Under Analysis*, Chap. XV. Lancaster, Pa.: The Jacques Cattell Press, 1932.

tional organizational units will be smaller than the area embraced in the typical political county unit. In most cases they will be geographically larger as the natural area community requires.

At present there appears to be little agitation to overcome the artificial nature of our state political units. There is sociological evidence in contemporary economic and social developments to suggest a functional break-down of traditional state lines. Larger socio-economic communities are now crossing state lines. Metropolitan communities are developing under the impetus of easier communication and transportation facilities. Many of our educational conferences, institutes, and other forms of gatherings now include adjoining states or regions which have community of interests and common problems. It is probable that in the future even state lines will be overcome to make education serve an interest beyond geographical state boundaries. Recently, in a school survey of an urban school community, the question of the establishment of a junior college was considered. This small city is located on a river separating two states; across the bridge in the adjoining state is a somewhat isolated small village with its economic-social interests oriented toward the city. This urban community favored the incorporation of the village community in the adjoining state into the proposed junior college district. Under the impact of such thinking artificial state lines may eventually give way.

In 1931 the University of Chicago erected its Graduate School of Education. Twenty of the professors in the School of Education were asked to give their opinion on what they thought education in the United States would be like in a century—in 2031. One of the prophecies suggested that by 2031 our present system of state school organization would be replaced by metropolitan or regional units, twenty or less in number, into which both educational and political activities of the United States would be divided, supplanting the old state form of organization. Considering these opinions and changing conditions, educational workers may well contemplate some modification of state lines for educational purposes in the future.

How should the organization of the program recognize the interrelated needs of rural and urban populations?

The organization of the secondary education program to provide properly for the needs of rural and urban communities must be very flexible. The variety of problems involved at different stages in the secondary school program and in relation to the degree of rural or urban population served further complicates the problem.

If the program of secondary education is based upon the 3-3-2 type of organization, a careful coordination of the programs of the last two units must be made if they are to be separated and have the two-year school located centrally to two or more senior high schools. Some degree of differentiation of program will be desirable, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth grades, to meet the needs of those who may terminate their formal education at the end of senior high school. For those who wish to get a foundation for vocational work in the last two-year segment of the program, it is important that their courses be carefully integrated with the work to follow. Where the program plan is based upon the 4-4 type of organization, the problems of coordination are important but are not so critical between the two units—and less so when the two divisions are located in the immediate locality. It is generally conceded that the work of the first four-year unit should be devoted primarily to problems of general education. Vocational or more specific types of educational preparation belong to the last four-year school unit.

The setting up of functional community schools implies that the areas served shall have similarity of educational needs as far as possible. Secondary schools set up in essentially rural areas should slant the program offered to serve the needs of those who are likely to remain in that community after completion of school. In turn, those schools located in urban community areas of a predominantly business and industrial nature would be expected to emphasize a program suited to the vocational needs and way of living of the community.

The task of developing a thoroughly functional secondary

education program for rural areas is complicated by the problem of movement of large numbers of rural youth from the farms to villages and cities. Technological developments make it possible for the farmer to grow farm products for the nation's needs with progressively less manual labor necessary. On the other hand, industry in the urban areas is steadily expanding, and the need for labor in the production and service occupations grows apace. The paradox for secondary education arises out of the fact that the populations of the cities do not reproduce themselves sufficiently; they depend upon migrations to the city to refill the ranks of their diminishing populations. The populations of the rural areas, however, increase apace. This means that if the disproportionate birth rate between the country and the city continues, as seems probable, youth must be drained from the farms and the villages to find their places in the cities. At the time *Education for All American Youth* was written the Educational Policies Commission estimated that approximately 46 out of every 100 youths from the farms and 33 out of every 100 youths from villages and rural towns must go to the cities if overpopulation and congestion in rural areas is to be avoided. The secondary school program in the rural community, therefore, must reckon with this problem. Some plan must be devised to determine relatively early which youths are likely to stay on the farm and in the village and which are likely to enter technical or professional work or gravitate to the labor markets of the city. The latter may be encouraged to transfer to the city for the last segment of their education. A system of easy transfer from the rural community and area schools to the city should be developed.

Where the rural and the urban populations are approximately of the same size in an area community, as in some instances is likely to occur, adjustments in the battery of occupational courses will need to be made. The pattern of occupational needs within the smaller urban center in all probability will not be as great as in the strictly urban community. Industrial occupations may be greatly overshadowed by business and distributive occupational needs in such a community. Under such circumstances farm and urban needs can be satisfactorily met. In rare cases ready transfer to larger urban schools of youths who

desire a special type of occupational education should be made, as in the case of the limited need occupations. The programs of these schools should be flexible in offerings or provide transfers to nearby area schools.

How should the administrative pattern of the secondary school be organized?

The administrative pattern of secondary education has undergone a slow evolution in the years since the academy was first established. The patterns of organizational units now found in the secondary schools of the United States have developed largely since the turn of the century. The typical 8-4 plan of public education—eight years devoted to the elementary school and four years to the secondary school—was the vogue at the beginning of this century. In Chapter II the exceptions to this organizational pattern were discussed at some length. The junior high school, whose beginning as a three-year unit is generally located in the year 1910, changed the pattern of secondary education to two units of three years each above a six-year elementary school. Smaller secondary schools accepted the extra two years from the elementary school and became six-year schools. The idea that secondary education rightfully included the two years beyond the traditional high school, or new senior high school, developed rapidly after the first world war. At first it developed as a two-year institution, and this has been its predominant organizational pattern. Recent developments in practice have witnessed a growing number of four-year junior colleges.

Educational theory seems to point to the eight-year secondary school divided into two equal divisions, or what is recognized as a 4-4 organizational pattern of secondary education, as the most desirable form of secondary school organization for the future. Modern education frowns upon too many segments in the total organization of the school. The elimination of breaks in the continuity of the educational program, with provision of appropriate groupings for maturity levels of the children is the present ideal. The final word on the future organizational pattern for the elementary and secondary periods

junior high schools, and 17 four-year junior high schools in a 6-4-4 unit setup were used. Koos found the evidence in favor of the four-year junior high school related to the four-year junior college to be "substantial and striking, and leave no room for doubt on the score of the reality of the reorganization. . . . The main conclusion is that the 6-4-4 plan is at once the most effective and the most economical means of bringing the full advantage of the junior high school and the junior college to the community."⁴

The organization of the program of secondary education thus far considered has taken into account that part of adolescent education within the probable limits of a future general compulsory system of public education. There has been enormous development of a program of education in connection with the secondary school for older adolescents who either have not completed the formal program of the school or, having completed what was available, seek additional educational assistance. Then, there is a widespread demand for educational opportunities for adults. To meet this situation the large high school building with its classrooms, library, auditorium, and particularly its vocational shop equipment has made the secondary school the logical center for these activities. In some cities the program has so developed that the school organization plans a continuous school day from eight or eight-thirty in the morning until ten o'clock at night. This makes possible a more flexible schedule for the regular secondary program and at the same time provides a maximum program for older out-of-school adolescents and the adults of the community. The organization of any program of secondary education that does not take into consideration the needs and growing demands for educational assistance of older youths and adults will not be fulfilling its obligations to our democratic society.

Still another important aspect of the organization of the secondary school program involves the length of the school year. The continuance of an outmoded administrative plan of summer vacations is no longer justified. In an agrarian period of American life parents considered it necessary to have youths

⁴Koos, Leonard V., *Integrating High School and College*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, p. 117.

released from school for work on the farm during the busy summer months. For most youths today the summer period away from school represents wasted time. Even worse, it may represent the development of activities and habits inimical to the behavior patterns of thought and action the school is trying to develop through the remainder of the year. The old claim that youth needed the summer months to build up nervous energy for the strain of school life has no validity in modern educational practice. The nature of the secondary educational program carried on in rural communities makes possible a constructive cooperative farm program for youth that in part offsets the loss of this help to the farm. Moreover, the educational programs now sponsored by agricultural departments in rural secondary schools necessitate administrative supervision from the school on a twelve-month basis. High school instructors in agriculture are now regularly employed on a twelve-month basis. In those programs where work experience is emphasized, a serious problem has arisen with employers who are expected to make room for a certain number of students during a nine-month school year and fill the gaps during the summer when these school youths are no longer available. As secondary schools put modern theories of education into practice, the all-year school will become an educational and administrative necessity. School systems are now adopting the twelve-month school in increasing numbers. Unless a major depression or other unforeseen developments prevent it, this generation should see the all-year school a common practice.

If a closely knit program of secondary education is to be made possible, the unit divisions of the secondary school must be integrated. This cannot be achieved under the traditional practice of virtual administrative isolation of the units from one another. A closer interrelation of the administrative and teaching personnel of the several units must be planned. Inter-division committees of teachers and administrative staffs should be continuously active to insure an over-all awareness of the purposes and functioning of the whole pattern of secondary education and the part each division or unit plays in that pattern. The fullest degree of local flexibility consistent with an integrated pattern of secondary education from the seventh

grade through the fourteenth should be encouraged in each school unit. The administrative organization of the local school, too, must become more completely democratized. The professional training of secondary teachers today places great stress upon the Masters degree and many have the Doctors degree as well. The professional preparation of secondary school teachers has now reached a very high level. There has been a growing tendency to include some work in school administration in the professional education of teachers. This is done on the theory that the teacher can do his best work as a teacher only in so far as he is fully familiar with the total program of the school and actually shares in the administrative function. Cooperative administrative procedures must supersede the autocratic practices that have dominated our secondary schools. The gulf that existed between administrators and the secondary school teaching staff has been greatly lessened under the impact of the newer conceptions of education. This is reflected in the still hesitant practice of bringing teachers into administrative planning, and the still more hesitant practice of sharing administrative responsibilities with teachers. In the smaller secondary schools cooperative administration shared in by the entire faculty is being studied and tried out as a means of realizing a thoroughly democratic school. Even some larger high schools have gone far in democratizing administrative procedures.

*How should the curriculum be organized?**

The organization of the secondary school curriculum will depend primarily upon two considerations. If the traditional subject matter conception of the curriculum prevails, the organizational pattern will follow one design; and if the experience conception of the curriculum is accepted, the design will differ quite radically from that of the subject-matter curriculum. The organization of the curriculum may be influenced also by the type of unit organization of the school adopted.

Traditional curriculum. The educational worker is familiar

*The student should reread the section on the "Curriculum" in Chapter II in connection with the discussion here.

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with the typical subject-matter curriculum organized on a discrete subject basis and set off in fifty- to sixty-minute periods continued for a semester or a full school year. The subjects are offered in some sequential pattern, semester by semester and grade by grade. For example, general mathematics might be offered in the ninth grade, Algebra in the tenth grade, and Geometry in the twelfth grade. Other subjects are organized on a theoretical scheme of sequence, with considerable rigidity in those schools with limited curriculum offerings or with greater flexibility where many electives are available. The organization of the curriculum in a typical, traditional, medium-sized four-year high school would have some required courses

TABLE 23

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF SUBJECT MATTER CURRICULUM IN FOUR-YEAR HIGH SCHOOL SHOWING REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE SUBJECTS.

| GRADE 9 | GRADE 10 | GRADE 11 | GRADE 12 |
|--|--|---|---|
| <i>Required:</i> | <i>Required:</i> | <i>Required:</i> | <i>Required:</i> |
| Health and physical education English I General science Algebra Social studies | Health and physical education English II World history Biology | Health and physical education English III United States history | Health and physical education English IV Social problems |
| <i>Electives:</i> | <i>Electives:</i> | <i>Electives:</i> | <i>Electives:</i> |
| One Latin I or French I or Spanish I Art Music | Two Plane geometry Latin I or II Spanish I or II French I or II Physics Chemistry Industrial arts I Home economics I Art Music | Three Solid geometry Latin II or III French II or III Spanish II or III Stenography I Typewriting I Bookkeeping I Physics Chemistry Home economics I or II Industrial arts I or II Art Music | Three Trigonometry French III or IV Spanish III or IV Bookkeeping II Stenography II Typewriting II Commercial law Chemistry Physics Home economics II or III Industrial arts II or III Art Music |

and a certain part of the program left open for electives. In a more rigid curriculum there probably would be no electives in the ninth grade. The ratio of electives to required subjects would usually increase as the student advanced in his school work. Even within the elective privilege some limitations would be imposed in most schools to insure a measure of sequence toward a vocational or general interest goal. With the lengthening of the secondary period to include the thirteenth and fourteenth years, the question of the postponement of elective privileges until later in the secondary school program is being seriously considered.

Experience curriculum. The acceptance of the concept of the curriculum as experience logically implies a different approach to the organization of the curriculum. Experiences do not occur in the form in which traditional subjects are cast. Experiences tend to center around problem situations; they do not lend themselves to patterns like those represented in the usual forms of organized subject matter. As a matter of fact, experience situations generally cut across traditional subject-matter boundary lines. An organizational plan of the curriculum based entirely upon the experience approach and fitted into our conception of education in a democratic society would be concerned with two major types of experiences: those designed to produce the kind of behavior pattern competencies all youths need to participate effectively as responsible citizens; and those to develop behavior competencies in keeping with the special aptitudes and interests of the individual. Such an over-all organization of the curriculum emphasis through the secondary school period might be like that shown in Figure XI.

This twofold division in curriculum emphasis should not be interpreted as meaning that there is a divorce between the two types of learning experiences emphasized. Those learning experiences designed to care for the special aptitudes and interests of individuals contribute in no small measure to behavior competencies common to all good citizenship activities. Problem situations are common elements in all vocational activities. Personal traits of honesty, dependability, loyalty to peoples and institutions, cheerfulness, ability to get along with others are part of any good program of vocational education. These,

in turn, are the common behavior characteristics essential to good citizenship. By the same token those learning experiences developed under the division core or common learnings curricu-

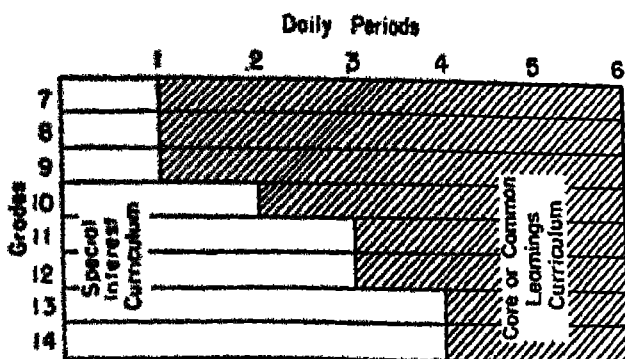


FIGURE XI. THE ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN OF THE "EXPERIENCE" CURRICULUM EMPHASIS AT VARIOUS GRADE LEVELS

ulum make a vital contribution to competencies deemed necessary for effective vocational activities and personal efficiency. The power of critical thinking, command of communication skills, social understandings, facility in cooperative activity, health habits, and others are important also for the development of personal aptitude and interest competencies.

CORE-COMMON LEARNINGS: These are terms that have come into popular use to cover experiences designed to produce the kind of behavior pattern competencies all youths need to participate effectively as responsible citizens now and later. It is unfortunate that the term *core* has been used to cover this particular phase of the experience concept of the curriculum. It can mean almost "all things to all men" unless it is carefully defined. The term *core* is used in education to cover two major conceptions of curriculum organization. The older traditional use of the term has been applied to a particular grouping of subjects in the school program called "constants"—those subjects offered in the high school program which all students were required to study in contradistinction to a second grouping of subjects called "variables" from which the student was free to elect those he wished to study to complete a full sched-

ule of work toward graduation. This use of the term *core* referred first to an organization of traditional subject-matter courses, and second to the fact that these subjects were commonly studied by all students. The development of a new conception of the curriculum as "experience" has focused attention upon experiences rather than subject matter in the educative process. The term *core* has come to be applied in modern education to those types of experiences thought necessary for all learners in order to develop certain behavior competencies considered essential for effective living in our democratic society.

The use of the term *core* applied to the experience curriculum should be clearly and sharply differentiated from its traditional usage; it must be completely divorced from any patterns of subject-matter courses. The two ideas represent a contradiction in terms and a confusion in educational thinking. *The organization within the experience curriculum of all those phases of experience which it is felt should be common to all learners is the core.* Pierce's definition is "The core program consists of those activities of living necessary for all as worthy members of our social order."⁸

Another writer in a discussion of the curriculum says:

The core, then, as we are using the term, implies that part of the curriculum which takes as its major job the development of personal and social responsibility and competency needed by all youth to serve the needs of a democratic society.⁹

Leonard considers five characteristics of the *core* area:

The first characteristic of the core phase of the curriculum is that it utilizes the problems of personal and social development common to all youth.

A second characteristic is that it develops those problems without reference to the traditional subject-matter fields.

A third characteristic of the core is that it encourages the use of the problem-solving technique to attack problems.

⁸Pierce, Paul R., *Developing a High School Curriculum*. New York: American Book Company, 1942, p. 129.

⁹Leonard, J. Paul, *Developing the Secondary School Curriculum*. New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1946, p. 395.

A fourth characteristic of the core organization is its provision for individual and group guidance.

A fifth and final characteristic. . . . The core organization provides for a scheme of organizing around the core the majority of teachers of the school in relation to a dominant central purpose—that of developing social competence—and of developing the rest of the school program around individual interests and purposes supplementing the core work.¹⁰

The term *common learnings* is used by many as synonymous with core. The concept of "common" is identical with the notion of core as representative of some basic learnings as universal and essential for all. The term *common learnings* has been popularized particularly through its use and graphic presentation by the Educational Policies Commission in *Education for All American Youth*. A few quotations will show the identity of educational concept between the core idea and that of common learnings as evolved in *Education for All American Youth*. In an attempt to develop the concept of common learnings as opposed to those learnings which should be differentiated to meet the special needs or interests of individual students, certain questions and conclusions are drawn that reveal the basic conception of *Common Learnings* held by the Educational Policies Commission.

At what times and in what ways, it was asked, do the interests and educational needs of maturing youth tend to diverge widely enough so that parts of the curriculum should be correspondingly differentiated? And in what respects do the educational needs of youth continue to be common to all and best served through a curriculum followed by all students? . . .

Other imperative educational needs of youth, it was believed, can best be met by educational experiences common to all students. Such is the case with the needs to maintain good health; to grow in understanding and competence as citizens, members of families, and consumers; and to develop appreciation of beauty and a scientific point of view. . . .

But how provide those other learning experiences deemed necessary for all youth—the experiences which, it had been agreed, all youth should have in common? . . .

And how may these be organized so as to be most effective?¹¹

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 394-397.

¹¹Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*. Washington: National Education Association, 1944, pp. 230-234.

The common learnings were finally identified as those including the essential experiences for all in the areas of citizenship, family life, health, economic processes involving producers and consumers, appreciation of literature and the arts, use of the English language, the facts, principles, and methods of science needed by all students, and "guidance of individual students." Unfortunately, the Educational Policies Commission, in an effort to develop a program of secondary education that might have a semblance of practicality for their conservative educational public, has so compromised the conception of common learnings by attempts at practical adjustments as to confuse the idea in the minds of the average reader.¹²

MODERN CURRICULUM PATTERNS: The efforts of school systems to develop programs of secondary education in harmony with the new conceptions of education and the curriculum have produced many variations from the theoretical ideal. Most of these programs attempt to take into account the core or common learnings in organization. A scheme suggested in *Education for All American Youth* organizes the curriculum into two major divisions—common learnings, and individual and vocational interests. For practical purposes of organization these major divisions are again subdivided as indicated in Figure XII. It is assumed, however, that these subdivisions are made largely for ease in scheduling rather than in any recognition of essential differences in the approach to be made to the parts.

The Wells High School of Chicago, a large city high school of over twenty-five hundred students, has been experimenting with various modifications of its curriculum in an effort to bring it into line with the experience concept. For many reasons this school has kept the framework of broad subject titles for classification and schedule purposes. Table 24 shows that the organization of the curriculum program is not the traditional subject organization even though the familiar broad subject titles Art, English, Social studies, Science, and so forth are given. The column entitled "Functions of Living" suggests

¹²To understand the compromise attempted in *Education for All American Youth* see pp. 230-245 in that book.

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| HIGH SCHOOL | | | COMMUNITY INSTITUTE | | |
|-------------|--|----|---------------------|------|-----|
| GRADES | X | XI | XII | XIII | XIV |
| 1 | <i>Individual Interests</i> (Elected by the student, under guidance, in fields of avocational, cultural, or intellectual interest.) | | | | |
| 2 | <i>Vocational Preparation</i> (Includes education for industrial, commercial, homemaking, service, and other occupations leading to employment, apprenticeship, or homemaking at the end of grade XII, XIII, or XIV; education for technical and semiprofessional occupations in community institute; and the study of sciences, mathematics, social studies, literature, and foreign languages in preparation for advanced study in community institute, college, or university. May include a period of productive work under employment conditions, supervised by the school staff. Related to the study of economics and industrial and labor relations in "common learnings.") | | | | |
| 3 | <i>Sciences</i> Methods, principles, and facts needed by all students | | | | |
| 4 | <i>Common Learnings</i> (A continuous course for all, planned to help students grow in competence as citizens of the community and the nation; in understanding of economic processes and their roles as producers and consumers; in co-operative living in family, school, and community; in appreciation of literature and the arts; and in the use of the English language. Guidance of individual students is a chief responsibility of "common learnings" teachers.) | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | |
| 6 | <i>Health and Physical Education</i> (Includes instruction in personal health and hygiene; health examinations and follow-up; games, sports, and other activities to promote physical fitness. Related to study of community health in "common learnings.") | | | | |

*Broken line indicates flexibility of scheduling.

**Heavy line marks the division between "differential studies" (above) and "common studies" (below).

FIGURE XII. CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION PATTERN IN AMERICAN CITY²⁴

²⁴Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*, Washington: National Education Association, 1944, p. 244.

TABLE 24

ORGANIZATION OF THE CURRICULUM, WELLS HIGH SCHOOL, CHICAGO, 1913²⁴

| FUNCTIONS OF LIVING | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------|--|
| Grade Level | Areas of Living | Social Relationships | Economic Consciousness | Health | Leisure | Thought and its Communication | Ethical and Spiritual Character | Work | |
| 9B | School Home Community | Art English Physical ed. Social studies | Social studies | Physical ed. Science | Art English Physical ed. Music | Art English Social studies | Physical ed. Social studies | English Social studies | |
| 9A | School Home Community | English Physical ed. Social studies | Art English Music Physical ed. Science Social studies | Physical ed. Science | Art English Physical ed. Music | Art English Music Science Social studies | English Physical ed. Social studies | English Social studies | |
| 10B | School Home Community | English Physical ed. Science Social studies | Social studies | Physical ed. Science | English Physical ed. | English Science Social studies | English Physical ed. Science | English Social studies | |
| 10A | School Home Community | English Physical ed. Social studies | Social studies | Physical ed. | English Physical ed. | English Science Social studies | English Physical ed. | Auditorium arts | |
| 11B | School Home Community | English | Auditorium arts | Physical ed. Science | English Physical ed. | English Science | Physical ed. | Auditorium arts | |

²⁴Adapted from Piore, Paul R., *Developing a High School Curriculum*. New York: American Book Company, 1914, pp. 125-135.

TABLE 24 (Cont'd)

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|--|--|---|---|
| 21A | School Home Community | English Science | Science | Physical ed. Science | English Physical ed. | English Science | English | Auditorium arts |
| 21B | School Home Community | English Social studies | Physical ed. | Physical ed. | English Physical ed. | English Social studies | English Social studies | English Physical ed. |
| 22A | School Home Community | Physical ed. Social studies | Social studies | Physical ed. | Social studies | Social studies | Social studies | Social studies |
| 4th Grade Levels | School Home Community | Assemblies Civic association Home room Lunchroom Library Clubs Services or Organizations Social affairs | Civic association Home room Lunchroom | Home room Library Social affairs | Home room Library Clubs Social affairs | Assemblies Civic associations Home room Library Lunchroom Clubs Social affairs | Assemblies Civic association Home room Library Lunchroom Clubs Service organizations Social affairs | Home room Library |
| Very High Grade Levels | School Home Community | Auditorium arts Commerce Home economics Industrial arts History Home economics Industrial arts | Commerce Home economics Industrial arts Mathematics | Auditorium arts Home economics Industrial arts | Auditorium arts Home economics Industrial arts Languages | Auditorium arts Languages Mathematics | Auditorium arts History Mathematics | Commerce Home economics Industrial arts |

TABLE 25 (Cont'd)

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|--|--|--|---|---|---|
| SOCIAL AFFAIRS | Entertaining friends. Helping maintain mother's and father's guests. Being considered by older members of family. | Sharing party expenses. Spending moderately for entertainments, birthday, holiday celebrations. | Moving parties for reasonable hours. Delivering parties and week ends. Eating moderately at parties. | Wearing lavishly, taste, acceptance and respect. Participating in light conversation. Developing skill in social games. | Seemingly worth-while guests. Conducting oneself with propriety. Showing consideration to all guests. | Preparing for parties. Serving refreshments tactfully. Cleaning up after parties. |
| | Scoring better to appropriate parents responsibilities. Accepting family responsibility. Earning right to some privileges, e.g., late hours, use of car. | Shaving financial responsibility by means of part-time job. Reducing family's economic strain. | Promoting whole-union vocational atmosphere. Fostered cheerful mental attitude. | Aiding parents to understand the school's aims. Extending family reading materials. Improving radio, picture interests. | Cultivating loyalty to one's family. Continuing to respect father and mother. | |
| CLOTHES PROBLEMS | Dressing presentably at home. Respecting fashions of parents and elders. Feeling brother's and sister's good selection. | Buying durable clothing. Evaluating quality of clothing. Budgeting for clothing. Providing for upkeep of clothing selections. | Making less, better, more. Discussing clothes. Keeping "tab" on clothing styles. | Thinking creatively about new clothes. Enjoying improvements created by tasteful dressing. | Developing good taste in clothes. Realizing that clothes reflect one's personality. | Making one's own clothes. Working to obtain money for presentable clothes. |
| | Providing care in use of own and other belongings. Acquainting parents with purpose of youth agencies. Getting adults to vote. | Saving family tax obligations. Budgeting for war stamps, bonds. | Disposing properly of garbage and rubbish. | Discussing voting procedures and standards. Promoting analysis of newspaper, radio, political news. | Studying records of officeholders, candidates. Determining responsibilities of citizen in a democracy. | Improving appearance of house and yard. |

TABLE 35 (Cont'd)

| Home Conscious Demerits | Home Relationships | Economic Concerns | Leisure | Health | Thought and Communication | Ethical and Spiritual Character | Work |
|-------------------------------|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| HOME DECORATION | Using loanings in art classes to influence home decoration. | Helping parents choose durable decorative materials | Making a reading habit of book- ing or interest decoration | Serving for wholesome mental outlook through clubs and formal surroundings | Thinking con- stantly on ways to beautify home. Reflecting phre- nically on results accomplished | Assuming increased responsibility for attractive home. | Helping parents clean and decorate. |
| SANITATION | Comparing with family members to maintain sanitary conditions. Suggesting younger members to keep silver clean. | Examined percentage of family budget for sanitation expenses. Designed saving in electric bills offered for sani- tary measures. | Spending part of leisure on personal hygiene | Bathing frequently. Washing one's own teeth, under- wear, hands, under- garments. | Reading about sanitation lectures to radio programs on sani- tation | Refusing to smoke others' per- sonal effects | Facing sanitary equipment. Killing insects and vermin. Scrubbing floors, woodwork. |
| HEATING AND LIGHTING | Considering the comfort and health of others in home. | Comparing value of fuels and ex- penses. Conserving fuel, gas, and electricity. Comparing appliances used by day. | Making a habit of household work. | Observing proper ventilation and heating. Improving light for reading | Studying modern types of heating and lighting. | | Caring for, dis- mantling and replacing equipment. |
| BODILY FITNESS | Producing proper mental attitude towards physical culture through habit and family relations. | Participating recreational health clubs. Using community facilities. Engaging parents in outdoor work to promote physical fitness by physical | Participating in physical fitness clubs. Developing whole body mental work through puzzle games. | Engaging in recreational health clubs. Using home facil- ties to improve health. Engaging in physical fitness work. | Studying proper types of heating and lighting. | | Observing regular hours and health- ful conditions for work. |

TABLE 15 (Cont'd)

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|
| RELIGIOUS LIFE | Discussing church activities. Participation in family prayers. Singing sacred songs. | Budgeting contributions to the church. | Enjoying books having religious theme. | Guiding moral and emotional balance through religious activities. | Reading the Bible. Listening to religious radio programs. Contemplating spiritual matters. | Expressing appreciation of man and gratitude to God. Applying ethical principles to life's problems. | Preparing for company. Gardening, hiking, and like hobbies. |
| | Celebrating anniversaries. Having parents tell of motherland customs. Keeping a family history. | Budgeting for entertainment. | Devoting spare hours to pleasant with family members. Entertaining relatives or friends. | Refraining from using and drinking screen. | Enjoying reports with friends. | Developing comradeship in the family. | |
| SEX RELATIONSHIPS | Confiding in parents respecting sex matters. | Doing things that do not require large outlays. | Entertaining boy or girl friends. | Keeping moderate during hours at home. | Studying during leisure. Practicing intelligent conversation with opposite sex. | Considering spiritual beauty of relationships with one's life partner. | Earning decent money. |
| | and defense matters with family. Sending things to service men. (sic) | Conserving food. Salvaging waste material. Buying war stamps and bonds. | Extending hospitality to service men. | Observing sex hygiene. Observing raid precautions. Developing sound body. | Writing letters to men in service. Planning ways of assisting war effort. | Cultivating spirit of service to others. Appreciating sacrifices of men in service. Maintaining family morale. | Acting as Youth leader in community. Working part-time in civilian war effort. Upholding at civilian defense meetings. |

TABLE 26

PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR THE YEAR 1947-48 OF THE FLOODWOOD, MINNESOTA
COMMUNITY JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

| Time | JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL | | | SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL | | |
|----------------|---|------------|----------|--|----------|-----------|
| | Grade VII | Grade VIII | Grade IX | Grade X | Grade XI | Grade XII |
| 8:45 to 9:30 | Band practice, homeroom, and certain special activities | | | | | |
| 9:30 to 10:30 | Individual interest activities under the supervision of junior high and vocational teachers | | | General education activities under the supervision of the senior high school teachers. | | |
| 10:30 to 11:15 | General education activities under the supervision of the junior high school teachers. | | | Vocational teachers as consultants | | |
| 11:15 to 12:15 | Vocational teachers as consultants | | | Individual interest activities under the supervision of senior high and vocational teachers | | |
| 12:15 to 1:00 | Lunch Period | | | | | |
| 1:00 to 2:00 | Individual activities under supervision of all high school teachers. Clubs—Intramurals | | | | | |
| 2:00 to 3:00 | General education activities under the supervision of the junior high school teachers | | | Special interest activities under supervision of senior high school and vocational teachers (includes athletics) | | |
| 3:00 to 4:00 | | | | | | |

*Broken lines indicate class periods are combined as two hour periods.

Two types of activities are recognized:

General education activities represent those learning activities which should be experienced by all. The school is divided into seven groups labeled by year number, each of which will work as a unit during periods devoted to general education. In general, one teacher will be associated with each group for a school year, although teachers may exchange groups in short or long periods if indicated.

Special interest activities or individual interest activities are any other learning experiences for which students are grouped on other bases: vocational or college preparatory or remedial classes, clubs, hobby groups, and so forth.

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a similarity in basic idea with that of the Virginia and Mississippi plan. The "Areas of Living" column further indicates the departure of this program plan from the traditional. To explain these "Areas of Living" and to indicate that the old pattern of subject titles in the Table are somewhat misleading as to the nature of this curriculum program, a chart follows Table 25 which will explain the radical departure of this school's curriculum from the traditional.

A small community secondary school, on the other hand, with eleven full-time and three part-time teachers has tried to develop an experience curriculum with emphasis upon the core organization. To escape the confusion the faculty felt clouded the meaning of the terms core and common learnings, they substituted the term "general education." Under the plan outlined they hoped to avoid entirely the subject-matter type of curriculum. The program as outlined is presented in Table 26.

How should the guidance function be organized?

Why is guidance important? Guidance is a relative newcomer to the field of education; before the turn of the century guidance was virtually unknown in American secondary education. Before that those who went to the secondary schools, in general, were pointed definitely toward the academic work of the college or the university. Most of these planned a future in the professions. College entrance requirements tended to be uniform. The program of the college or university did not differ greatly for at least the first two years, and most four-year college programs were not too dissimilar. Most high schools offered a single curriculum program with very little elective privilege. Even the few larger high schools which introduced very limited multiple curriculums did not vary their subject offerings greatly." It was not until the second and third decade of this century that larger high schools began to

"For a picture of the rigid nature of curriculum offerings before 1900 and even prior to 1918, see Bunt, John E., *The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921, pp. 24-34.

offer a plethora of courses." Going from the one extreme of rigidity of subject offerings to the other extreme of a confusing multiplicity of subjects only served to create the problem of intelligent selection of courses by immature high school students.

The rapid increase of secondary students that began about 1900 brought many youths to school who were not interested in, or capable of, or who could not finance education beyond the high school. In addition, there were many who were not able to continue for a full four years of high school education. The new influx to the secondary school consisted mostly of those with skilled and semiskilled vocational needs and interests.

Maladjustments in our schools became a matter of growing concern. Youths were getting into the wrong courses for which they lacked aptitude or interest. The old bugaboo of respectability of college preparatory courses led many into blind alley programs. Failures and eliminations doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. Part of these failures and eliminations represented changes in schedules due to lack of knowledge of the nature of a course at the time of enrolling. This led to handicaps in late shifts to other courses, disappointments, and a natural increase of apathy toward school work of all kinds. Also, many students found themselves in school because of compulsory attendance laws or parental insistence and they had no definite goals to motivate them.

The first effort to meet this serious situation was to attempt some kind of vocational direction of the student. Frank Parsons, in 1908, began vocational placement guidance in Boston, principally with out-of-school youth. The vocational guidance and placement movement quickly caught the imagination and favor of people. It will be remembered that one of the early purposes of the junior high school movement was that of vocational exploration and guidance. With the popularity of such books as Brewer's *Vocational and Educational Guidance*, published in 1918, educational guidance found a place beside vocational guidance. Even then, the major emphasis in educational

*See Chapter III for a discussion of the curricular development of high schools during the second and third decades of this century.

guidance in its early period was limited to the wise selection of a vocation and the proper education for the vocation chosen.

What is the meaning of guidance? With a better knowledge of the complex psychological nature of the human organism and the introduction of a radical change in the conception of learning and the goals of education, which have come about in the past quarter-century, the guidance movement has faced a period of confusion and adjustment. A better understanding of individual differences has complicated the guidance problem since each individual has to be considered as an entity with peculiar educational needs and cannot be fitted into a few pattern stereotypes. Now that learning is recognized as a matter of acquiring changes in behavior patterns through experience rather than the acquisition of knowledge primarily through memory, the problem of directing the learning process is considered to be far more difficult than it was thought to be of yore. The modern conception of the educational purposes as guiding the youth into the acquisition of those behavior competencies that will enable him to participate most effectively as an individual in democratic society has created a further problem for the guidance movement.

The definitions of guidance that are popularly accepted today make it difficult to determine how the guidance function is to be separated from at least one phase of the purpose of general education. A definition representative of the better thinking in this field is that suggested in the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards:

Guidance, as applied to the secondary school, should be thought of as an organized service designed to give systematic aid to pupils in making adjustments to various types of problems which they must meet—educational, vocational, health, moral, social, civic, and personal. It should endeavor to help the pupil to know himself as an individual and as a member of society; to enable him to correct certain of his shortcomings that interfere with progress; to know about vocations and professions so that he may intelligently choose and prepare, in whole or in part, for a life career; and to assist him in the constant discovery and development of abiding creative and recreational interests.¹⁸

¹⁸*Evaluative Criteria*. Washington: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1940, p. 41.

Another definition of guidance which is widely accepted appears to be in general agreement with that of the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards although the emphasis of this definition is possibly more restricted.

Guidance in the secondary school refers to that aspect of the educational program which is concerned especially with helping the pupil to become adjusted to his present situation and to plan his future in line with his interests, abilities, and social needs.¹⁸

It is clear that the conceptions of guidance presented in these definitions are partly envisaged in the modern conceptions of the purposes of education. Under the old ideas of education and the curriculum, the pupil was much like a ship afloat without a rudder or compass on an uncertain sea. The confusing array of courses to be taken and the uncertain direction in which these studies led forced the school to maintain a personnel member who understood the significance of courses taken in a given pattern to equip the pupil for the attainment of a definite goal and who, at the same time, could advise the learner in terms of his interests and abilities which goals and patterns it was desirable and expedient for him to seek.

Today the curriculum is not thought of in terms of discrete subjects to be studied. It is thought of rather as consisting of those experiences which develop the individual, social, and vocational competencies necessary for effective living in society. Education is the guidance of the pupil in his learning activities so that he has those experiences appropriate for the development of needed competencies. Thus, the guidance function, as defined by the authorities quoted, becomes identified with the total educative program of the school.

How shall guidance be implemented? It is at this point that the difficulties involved in much of contemporary "professional guidance" thinking and modern educational philosophy and practice are brought sharply into focus.¹⁹ Professional guid-

¹⁸Hamrin, Shirley A. and Erickson, Clifford E., *Guidance in the Secondary School*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1939, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹The confusion and difficulties in which the guidance movement finds itself is well indicated in the defensive discussion of the problems of guidance in Warters, Jane, *High-School Personnel Work Today*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946, pp. 3-32.

ance would set up an organization charged with responsibility for the guidance function in contradistinction to, and largely superimposed upon, the educational process directly in operation between the pupil and the teacher. It is easy to see that a curriculum program consisting of discrete subjects taught without much relation to each other and without regard for the immediate problems of the learner would not provide the services contemplated in guidance procedures. In fact, these practices of the school have led to the development of the guidance function to meet these areas of neglected pupil needs. The organization of separate "organized services" and personnel to meet this need for guidance is a logical development of traditional educational practice. There was virtually no way for the pupil to get help on his personal, social, or vocational problems from the specialist trained in the niceties of grammatical syntax, mathematical axioms, or Latin declensions.

Professional guidance, therefore, has developed an elaborate organizational structure and a personnel specially trained to operate the system. In many, if not most, of our larger secondary schools such a guidance plan can render pupils a distinct service. Unfortunately, the elaborate devices and personnel contemplated in modern guidance programs make their utilization impractical in most small high schools. An effort has been made to secure part-time guidance programs in such schools. The cost of such a program has left most schools without the benefit of any formal programs of guidance.

The concepts of education presented in this book as representative of forward-looking contemporary educational thought and graphically portrayed in a compromise form in *Education for All American Youth* simply transfer most of the guidance activities outlined in the usual textbook on guidance to the regular functions of the classroom teacher. It cannot be too often or too emphatically repeated that the teacher in modern education is concerned not with teaching subjects *per se*, but with the guidance of youth in those behavioral adjustments which will enable him to live successfully in his present environment, and develop competencies for the future. Everything the teacher does must contribute definitely to the achievement

of this educative goal. The teacher has no other function or justification as a member of the school staff.

There has been an evolutionary development in programs of secondary schools toward the functional conception of education. The emphasis upon extracurricular activities as a part of the school program was one of the early tacit admissions of the subject-matter schools that certain basic needs of youth were not being met in the traditional school program. It was thought that fundamental personal and social needs could be met through these extra-legal activities attached to the school. The home room represents another effort to bolster an antiquated educational system; the homeroom period provided an opportunity for the performance of certain guidance functions. These have been important adjuncts to a school system that has tried to hold the traditional academic school program with one hand and with the other hand grasp the newer educational ideas expressed in these program devices. Until schools are ready to accept modern conceptions of education and adopt an educational program in full harmony therewith, such educational devices are valuable means of bridging, to some extent, the gap between educational antiquity and educational modernity.

The development of the experience curriculum has made possible the full exercise of the guidance functions within the natural framework of the secondary school program. In fact, it becomes an integral part of the educational and program ideal. Modern secondary education at its best embodies the essence of the guidance function as the heart of its program. The core organization of the curriculum has made guidance of a high order a natural part of the educative process. Here the teacher becomes the major vehicle of guidance integrated into the total activities of the core. Three aspects of the core organization contribute to this practical exercise of guidance as a function of the program: first, the adoption of class periods two or three hours in length for core purposes removes from the school the sense of rigidity and artificiality that surrounds the typical school—it presents a more lifelike atmosphere in which the normal activities of life can be carried on. Second, this lengthened period provides time for methods better

adapted to the experience type of learning. Problem-solving techniques with experiences in individual and group activities make it possible for the teacher to counsel pupils informally as a natural part of the instructional function and under circumstances where such counsel is pertinent to the situation. Teacher-pupil planning, both group and individual, is facilitated in these longer periods. This aspect of the instructional procedure emphasized in modern education is a very valuable phase of the guidance activity of the classroom teacher. The flexibility, the informality, and the sense of cooperativeness of a properly conducted core period makes guidance a matter of prevention more than one of remedial concern. Third, the lengthened core period limits the number of pupils the teacher must contact each day. With two core periods per day the teacher has his per-pupil teaching load reduced from the 125 to 175 pupils customarily faced in the classroom in a traditional high-school program to 40 to 60 pupils under the core program. This makes possible an intimate knowledge of these students which is not feasible for a school guidance specialist. The core teacher is expected to know each pupil in the core group, his personal abilities and interests, social characteristics, home background, and, by close contact and study of the pupil, the teacher will provide that general and specific educational guidance and direction which enables the pupil to grow normally as a well-rounded individual and valued member of the school and community.

These modern educational developments are emphasizing the increased place of the classroom teacher in guidance and minimizing the emphasis upon the out-of-class guidance personnel. It is difficult to see how the basic functions of guiding the pupil in growth in personal and group living can be carried on as effectively by someone removed from intimate daily contact with the pupil as by the teacher who lives in close contact with the student under the conditions implied in the newer schools. Guidance by office counseling would appear to be limited in value. Sensing this situation, one educational leader has observed that the solution of this problem is not to be found in the "multiplication of personnel with sharply differentiated functions" but in the recognition of the place of

the teacher in modern education, with attention devoted to appropriate curriculum revision.²¹ Another leader, who has developed an outstanding educational program in a large high school, has based his program upon the principle that learning takes place through experience. Therefore he has centered the direct guidance activity in the hands of the classroom teacher. Certain "basic principles" were set up to govern the guidance procedures in the Wells High School:

First it was regarded as basic that problems which conventionally call for guidance should be anticipated and eliminated through development of a curriculum fitted to pupils' interests, abilities, and needs. . . . Our principle was thus equivalent to saying that curriculum improvement is the chief vehicle of guidance. A second principle was that guidance should be concerned not so much with determining a given niche for the student and then fitting him into it as with training him to meet realistic problems here and now, that he might effectively meet the complex problems of later life. . . . A third principle was that guidance should be an integral part of the curriculum conducted in the student's actual learning situations and not involve specialized personnel and instructional machinery. A fourth principle, developed as the result of continued experience and study, was that the normative scientific data regarding adolescents should not overinfluence guidance procedures to the neglect of personal, individual conditions respecting a pupil.²²

The Wells High School maintains a Guidance Clinic, but the major activity of the guidance personnel is that of training and servicing classroom and home room teachers who do the actual face-to-face guidance "in learning situations as needed." The Guidance Clinic provides the teachers with test result data, secures data from the elementary schools which serve as feeders to the high school, and assist in other ways to make data helpful in actual guidance situations available to teachers.

The development of a guidance program in the secondary school is recognized as an important educational asset. Schools with a traditional educational curriculum must have a well-

²¹Alberty, Harold, *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 187.

²²Pierce, Paul R., *Developing a High School Curriculum*. New York: American Book Company, 1942, pp. 217-218.

organized guidance program to supplement the work of the school and to offset the maladjustments created by an educational program unsuited to the needs of today's youth. The thoroughly modern school will incorporate much of the guidance function into the educational program administered by the classroom teacher. Specialized phases of guidance, it would appear, will still require the services of guidance personnel broadly educated to understand not only the pupil but also the peculiar functions of education within our society. To what extent the work of the guidance personnel will be that of servicing the teaching staff or participating in face-to-face guidance of the pupil cannot be stated with assurance at this time. Experience in developing procedures for the effective implementation of the modern conceptions of education must be relied upon to indicate in the immediate future the best techniques and organization of guidance for the new secondary schools.

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Questions and Problems

1. Prepare a map of an ideal school district in some section of your state. Consider such matters as transportation of pupils, state aids, assessed valuation, and location of secondary schools.
2. Study a map of the school districts in your state. Make suggestions for reorganizing districts to improve educational services.
3. What arguments can you advance, pro and con, on the 4-4 and 3-3-2 organizations of the secondary school?
4. Work out a committee report on Saxon and Harbison's *The New American College*, and follow the report with class discussion.
5. Study the recommendations of the American Vocational Association on vocational training and discuss the recommendations in class.

6. Interview C.I.O. and A.F. of L. leaders for their recommendations on vocational training. Do the same with parents, professional people, and business leaders.
7. Pool your own experience with that of the class in an attempt to discover local issues that have precipitated "school fights." Suggest ways and means of avoiding such situations.
8. What are some of the problems or issues that arise in the reorganization of smaller districts into a larger consolidated district?
9. How would the "community school" building differ from the conventional buildings now common throughout the United States?
10. Read *Education for All American Youth* and discuss the advantages or disadvantages, as you see them, of teaching "common learnings" as compared with teaching one or two subjects under the conventional plan.
11. Present to the class a panel discussion on some problem facing the secondary teacher when the schools institute the twelve-month year.
12. Describe as specifically as you can the differences between an "authoritarian" and a "democratic" school administration.
13. Contrast the traditional subject curriculum with the emerging experience-core curriculum from the viewpoint of the possibility of providing for individual differences.
14. Work out a set of objectives for the traditional subject curriculum and state your objectives in terms of the actual changes in pupil behavior that you expect to bring about. Do the same for the core curriculum or for "common learnings." Which is easier to do, to state objectives for the subject or the core organization of the curriculum?
15. Establish a case for various promotion, guidance, homogeneous-grouping, and other procedures as being attempts to make an out-moded subject organization of the curriculum serve the needs of pupils.
16. What would you recommend as desirable preparation for teachers who are going to work in either a "common learnings" or "core" program?

CHAPTER XIV

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE POSSIBLE LIMITING FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEAL SCHOOL PROGRAM?

How do inadequate plant facilities limit the program? At the Century of Progress Exposition, held in Chicago in 1933, a Washington artist nineteen years old and just graduated from high school exhibited three large paintings representing education yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The little red school house, of course, typified the poverty of school plant facilities of Yesterday. Unfortunately, that picture is representative still of a large per cent of the school plants now in use. The school of Today depicted a single school plant of our better conventional type to be found in most larger communities, capable of limited ministration to the needs of children and adults. The third mural, drawing upon the imagination, of our school of Tomorrow shows children and parents thronging to a large modernistic Civic Center, which houses the school, theater, gymnasium, library, concert and dance halls, as well as other plant facilities.

These murals dramatize the contrast between the inadequacy of our plant facilities for the kind of a program contemplated in modern secondary education. The old conception of secondary education based upon an academic curriculum in preparation for successful entrance to college needed little in plant facilities other than a building with enough room space to seat the student body. A verbal type education based largely upon the mastery of textbook content required a minimum of plant facilities.

Unfortunately, the longevity of the physical school plant is entirely out of keeping with the tempo of change in educational

needs. As a result, the demands of a modern program of education are very often stymied by functionally obsolete building facilities which are still judged by the community as in too good a condition to be scrapped. Because of lack of community and of local educational leadership vision of what ought to be, building facilities are often unsuited to recognized needs. Modern secondary education, servicing in many communities upwards of 90 per cent of the youth, must have extensive plant facilities to provide for the different types of educational opportunities the needed program anticipates. Desirable homemaking activities for girls cannot be provided in the typical school building as now constructed. The same must be said for preparation for vocational education where extensive shop facilities are required. The demands for education no longer based on textbooks *per se*, but upon the use of large libraries must have building facilities equal to, if not better than, the libraries of a fair-sized community. To overcome this difficulty, which is inherent in most school buildings, some larger cities are providing branch libraries often located across the street from large secondary schools. The emphasis upon health in modern education demands suites of rooms for medical, dental, and nursing services; and activities involve the need of art laboratories, music rooms, recreational facilities, auditoriums, and various other rooms. The more the program of the school becomes identified with the community, the greater are the demands of the adults and older out-of-school youth for building facilities adequate to their needs.

It is quite clear that the general lack of building facilities to meet a modern program of secondary education must seriously limit the development of a thoroughgoing secondary school program in the majority of our school communities. At the present moment it is one of the crucial problems faced by wide awake school faculties. Until adequate school plant facilities are made possible, we must delay the realization of even an approximation of the desirable goals of secondary education now generally advocated.

How do inadequate materials and equipment limit the program? All that has been said of the limitations of building facilities applies with even greater force to inadequate ma-

terials and equipment. There are too many schools with inadequate plants where the educational problem is restricted even further because the school does not possess the materials and equipment to carry forward the kind of a program possible with building facilities at hand. Much more enriched and elaborate programs could be carried on in the average school plant if materials and equipment that could be adapted to such plants were made available. Most schools, even where the buildings are reasonably commodious, still have desk seating fixed to the floor and arranged in rigid rows facing the front of the room. This type of seating is suited only to the antiquated conception of education that glorified the lesson recitation or the mind-stuffing lecture. Problem-solving study situations where youths gather around tables, singly or in less formal groups, to analyze problems, plan their attack upon these problems, and, within the limits of the nature of these problems, attempt a solution of them in the classroom-library situation, could be greatly facilitated if proper chairs and tables or at least movable desks were substituted for the fixed desks of an out-moded educational era. The same may be said for library and other materials needed to carry through a modern educational program. Just recently a high school teacher, anxious to utilize the newer educational approach in her core classes, pointed somewhat despairingly to her classroom and exclaimed: "How can I apply the newer ideas of education in my classes with these old desk seats and very little reference material in the library?" With appropriate movable tables in place of fixed desks, doubling, and sometimes trebling, the library reference sources, and use of materials useful in classroom problem-solving situations, most schools could do much to overcome the handicaps of poor plant facilities.

There are many kinds of equipment and materials that would reduce materially the limitations upon the educational programs in most schools. The use of radios, visual-aid materials of all sorts, public address systems, duplicating machines of different kinds in sufficient quantities to make them easily available to teachers, files for classrooms, and other miscellany are the kinds of general equipment and materials every secondary school can provide. In such special areas as art most

schools are poorly supplied with adequate materials for the creative activities of pupils; in music the limitation so often felt, in the small schools particularly, is the lack of musical instruments; in business education, as indicative of all vocational work, the lack of enough up-to-date machines of all varieties used in business offices is a serious handicap to a program designed to send efficient youth into business positions. The same unnecessary limitations exist in other areas such as science, health, and recreation. Too many communities think of education as it existed in a by-gone age. They do not realize the handicaps lack of proper equipment bring to a modernly conceived secondary school program nor how much these would overcome many limitations imposed by an inadequate school plant.

In what way does insufficient financial support affect the school program? The evils of inadequate school plants and equipment in large measure spring from a root cause—lack of school finances to build physical school plants and provide proper equipment. It is estimated that to carry through the secondary school program on the scale envisioned in *Education for All American Youth* would require at least double and probably treble the amount of money now spent on education. It is obvious that plant facilities cannot be adequately developed without a decided increase in the financial support of education.

Lack of money also affects the adequacy of the school personnel to carry forward enriched school opportunities for youth and adults. The old academic curriculum required a minimum of teaching personnel. The further the school program diverges from this minimum, the more personnel is needed, the better and more specialized the staff must be, and the less mass education can be carried on. Consequently the costs of education rise precipitously.

Associated closely with the limitations placed upon the adequacy of school personnel by insufficient finances is the effect upon school services that result from inadequate financial support. During the depression of the thirties many schools cut off special services not yet completely recognized as an integral part of the educational program. Free or minimum cost

lunches, medical and nursing services, bus transportation services, easy access by pupil or adult groups to the use of the school plant and equipment were frequently eliminated entirely or greatly reduced. Summer recreational programs and other usual summer activities were curtailed. This is symptomatic of the causes for the absence of many services advocated by educators. When the Educational Policies Commission recommends that all public library and recreational services of the community be controlled and supported by the same officials that manage the schools, they are suggesting a type of service for which finances are not now available.¹

The growing demand for a twelve-month school, the introduction of the nursery and the kindergarten, the extension of education through the thirteenth and fourteenth school years, and the demand for educational services to out-of-school youth and adults—all are limited or completely prohibited at present because of lack of money. The key to much of the limitation placed on educational programs lies in inadequate finances for education in the richest nation of the world.

How is the school program conditioned by traditional patterns of the curriculum? It must never be forgotten that the traditional secondary school curriculum has been academic in character: it has emphasized the values of antiquity; it has shown little concern for the world of the present. As a result, the traditional curriculum has stressed the ancient classics of literature and language, the history of older cultures, particularly of western and southern Europe, and formal rhetoric. Little attention was given to mathematics until the changes in secondary education after 1800. It is said that the students of Harvard University in the colonial period were so lacking in simple arithmetical skills that it was with difficulty that many could locate a particular place in a book through its page number. Such a curriculum could in no sense provide the kind of education we are concerned with in secondary education today. Because of the reactionary forces that have dominated the curriculum of the secondary schools in America until recent years, there is still a strong preference for the academic curri-

¹Educational Policies Commission, *Social Services and the Schools*. Washington: National Education Association, 1939.

ulum on the part of many. Such a curriculum has been limited to those preparing for college or those capable of grappling with ideas cast mainly in a verbal setting—the so-called “abstract-minded.” Large numbers of students find it difficult to get much profit out of a curriculum so highly abstract and so unrelated to the problems of the contemporary world in which they live. The traditional curriculum is recognized as unsuited to the needs of youths going directly into some form of occupational activity from the secondary school. More than that, recent studies cast grave suspicion upon the traditional curriculum as the most effective means of preparing youth for college. The evidence to date supports the broader curriculum pattern even for college preparation.

Another limitation imposed upon the school program by the adherence to the traditional curriculum is the definite tendency of the supporters of this curriculum to discourage the development of more practical or enlarged curriculum offerings. The extreme emphasis upon the “cultural” or “mental discipline” values that are claimed for the traditional curriculum places upon more practical curriculum offerings the odium of inferiority, low-brow, or just plain having little or no educational value. Under such unfavorable circumstances in some schools the classical curriculum offerings are chosen by youths unfitted for these courses while the more valuable general vocational and semi-vocational courses remain poorly supported. Students who cannot carry successfully the academic curriculum or become discouraged because they do not see practical values in what they are doing drop out of school. The effect of the traditional curriculum upon the secondary school is to make the education of youth the privilege of the few; a violation of the democratic ideal of education for all.

Another very practical limitation that the traditional curriculum places upon the efforts to provide a modern program of education is the incompatibility of the traditional versus the modern approach to education; “oil and water will not mix.” It is virtually impossible to combine a traditional curriculum and a modern curriculum; the two are mutually exclusive. They have different underlying purposes and are based upon contradictory principles of learning. The theory of learning as

"mind storage" or "mental discipline" cannot be reconciled with a conception of learning as "changing behavior through experience." Maleducation must be the result when pupils are exposed to both types of curriculum programs simultaneously. The use of the traditional curriculum is a most effective block against the development of a modern program of secondary education.

What limitations may be imposed on the school program by its professional personnel? There is an old aphorism to the effect that water can rise no higher than its source. This is particularly apropos when applied to the relationship that exists between the school administrative-teaching personnel and the success of the school program. In spite of the fears of some teachers that newer instructional devices such as sound movies, the radio, and television would make teachers needless appendages of the school, they are still essential. In fact, modern educational developments, both in our knowledge of the learning process and in the program of education now proposed, have made the teaching personnel of the school more indispensable than ever. By the same token, the school personnel can become a major asset to a forward-looking school program or a crippling limitation upon it.

Far and away the most important source of handicap or asset to a school program is the educational point of view of the administrative leaders and the teachers. So many schools are still conducting outworn traditional school programs or grudgingly accepting slight modifications because the educational thinking of the school leadership is at least a quarter of a century out of date. Although the teacher remains the key personnel factor in the actual teaching situation, a school either goes forward or remains tied to the past depending largely upon the vision and leadership, or lack of both, on the part of the administrative personnel. It is true that no administrator can inaugurate a modern educational program by administrative order. The very genius of democratic education is that of voluntary cooperation—leadership through consent. On the other hand, unless the administrative leadership of a school provides unequivocal enthusiasm and support for an educational program that is democratically conceived and coopera-

tively achieved there will be no such program in that school. This will be true no matter how eager the staff is to take advance ground educationally. One of the principal sources of limitation on a progressive secondary education program in America today is laid squarely at the door of our school administrators.

The limitations that result from a reactionary attitude toward newer educational practices on the part of educational personnel probably grow out of a mistaken point of view toward society and education. If the teaching staff believes in an authoritarian type of life, the traditional curriculum and autocratic classroom practices are the logical consequences of their social-educational point of view. Until our administrators and teachers are completely sold on the democratic way of life and are fully alive to the relationship of that way of life to the modern program of the secondary school, the honest reactionary attitude of many will prove to be a major hindrance to educational advancement.

Another aspect of possible personnel limitations upon the adoption of advanced programs of secondary education may be found in the paucity of professional training of the staff. The administrative group has emphasized the techniques of school organization, finance, and personnel management, with little attention upon the nature of learning, social and educational philosophy, or the curriculum. The teaching staff has been narrowly trained, for the most part, as subject-matter specialists. A major in English and a minor in languages or social science or a major in science and a minor in mathematics are typical of the patterns of subject-matter preparation of the teacher. Add to this professional courses in Educational Psychology, Principles of Secondary Education, general and special Methods, and Practice Teaching, plus two or three other elective courses in education, and the teacher is supposed to be ready to teach. A teacher with such a limited preparation is indeed inadequately trained to participate successfully in an educational program based upon the experience curriculum. Many teachers desirous of adopting the newer educational procedures recognize their inadequate educational background to fully understand or undertake serious participation in the

newer educational programs. Teacher training institutions are slowly developing a training program designed to meet the needs of teachers interested in the experience curriculum.

There are other factors involving the professional personnel that may provide limitations upon the introduction of newer educational practices in the school. Administrators and teachers commonly known in the profession as "stuffed shirts" exalt the ideal of a smooth-running school. It is this kind of an administrator who once boasted with obvious pride that he knew at any time of the day just what was going on in any part of his school system, or the teacher who insisted with equal pride that no pupil in her class would consider for a moment even whispering unless he first raised his hand and received her permission. This type of routine worship has no place in modern programs of education where the give and take of teacher-pupil cooperatively planned activities assumes a natural environmental situation where freedom of movement and freedom of speaking in the sharing of a common task is the vogue. Changes of plans and schedules of work are considered a logical outcome of vital, meaningful learning situations. "Stuffed shirt" administrators and teachers could never understand or be happy in this kind of an educational situation. Where their wills are dominant, only traditional education is possible. Nor should the handicap of lazy or vested-interest teachers be overlooked. There are teachers completely satisfied with things as they are. They have developed a *modus operandi*, so temptingly possible to such a teacher under the old traditional scheme of education, by which their job has been reduced to a routine minimum of work. They do not see the challenge in the newer educational approach and do not want to be disturbed from their routines. Then there are administrators and teachers who feel secure in their present practices: the administrator who lacks confidence in his abilities to utilize new and strange administrative techniques but feels sure of his traditional methods; and the teacher who is a subject-matter specialist and confident of her ability to handle the traditional but unwilling to begin preparation to meet the demands of the new type of education and uncertain of her ability to make such a radical adjustment in her teaching often become powerful

belligerent blocks to the adoption of advanced programs of secondary education.

In what way may community attitudes and cultural levels restrict the school program? It is the ideal of the newer concept of education that the secondary school program should give particular attention to the development of critical thinking on the part of youth. The peculiar needs of a democracy require men and women capable of evaluating the worth of existing practices in terms of their effectiveness in reaching clearly recognized goals. Even the more specific goals themselves are not considered immune from occasional appraisal in terms of the larger inclusive ideals of democracy. Basically this means that the most cherished practices and institutions of the community may not be exempt from careful scrutiny. It is the only way by which youth can come to understand and appreciate the values that inhere in the institutions and patterns of life of the community. It is at the same time the only way society can be assured that its way of life will be kept streamlined to serve individual and group interests best.

This ideal has not as yet been accepted by all. Minorities, and even majorities in some communities, deny this as a right or function of the school. Those communities where any considerable portion of the population believe the school must teach uncritically the existing patterns of thinking of that group will limit the activities of the school. The prevailing attitudes, beliefs, or practices of the community may be critically discussed, if at all, with great caution. Community prejudices are most likely to be stirred in the areas of politics, religion, and social practices. The restrictions placed upon the Washington, D.C. schools some years ago forbidding the mention of Russia in the classroom is a case in point. Here local prejudice against Russia led to an order to the schools that caused Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to suggest that the teachers were in the ridiculous position, in teaching the geography of Europe and Asia, of only being able to point to the space on the map that is Russia and warn the children that that part of the map they would not discuss. Some recall even yet the famous Scopes trial in Tennessee where, by court decree, teachers were denied the right to consider the subject of evolu-

tion from a scientific point of view. The need to secure freedom from community restriction upon the right of the school to consider critically every phase of democratic social living is essential to the effectiveness of the newer school program.

Communities are always sensitive to their cherished *mores* and deep-seated prejudices. There are other aspects of community attitudes that prevent the development of newer educational ideas and practices. In this category may be suggested the idealization of the old traditional high school curriculum. No school attempting a reorganization of its school curriculum can wisely ignore the attitudes of loyalty to the old on the part of many adults. It is the curriculum which they studied in high school. Whether they realized it or not, they were sold on its value to them then, and they remain convinced of the contribution it made to their lives. Although they may never have read anything of Browning or Shakespeare since school days and can recall nothing of these authors now, they insist their children should study these same authors. They may have only the vaguest notion of any part of ancient history or of Latin but they want their children to study these same subjects. They insist on living in a streamlined world of their daily life but frown upon any effort of education to get its curriculum out of the ox-cart era. These sentiments are strong barriers to educational progress.

Further, the general cultural level of the community, if it is low, may seriously limit the local secondary school program. Peculiarly enough, the less educated the adults of the community the more conservative they tend to be. Sensitive to possible disparagement of their equal rights with others, they may add to this natural conservatism an insistence that their children study the same things in school studied by the sons and daughters of the economic privileged of that community. Again, the idea that the school personnel should receive a remuneration in excess of the rank and file salary of the community is likely to be frowned upon. Competent teachers necessary to the success of the newer educational programs are thus unavailable. Coupled with this the probable low economic level of such a community will make adequate school financing improbable.

Whatever handicaps the schools in the development of a realistic program of secondary education must ultimately find its cause in the attitudes of the community toward education. It has been said that when you touch a man's pocketbook, you touch his tenderest spot. That is simply to say that money is the acid test of his attitudes—his values of living. In 1947 slightly over 1 per cent of the national income was spent on public education, yet education is the nation's big business. In spite of lip service to education, the general public basically is not sold on the expanded secondary education program considered highly desirable, even imperative, if the democratic way of life in America is to be fully realized. Until it is possible for the American people to believe that education is more important than almost anything else for which they spend money, there must remain a serious lag in educational progress. If the community is provincial in its outlook, the natural tendency will be for it to oppose efforts to enlarge the scope of educational activities to include other communities.

How may "pressure groups" influence the school program? The public school is beset by many forces that would gladly determine in part or in whole the nature of its program. Some of these "pressure groups" are well meaning, and the things they seek to add to the program of the school on the whole are beneficial. Of such a type is the National Education Association and its affiliate national and state organizations. The present efforts of the N.E.A. to secure federal aid for education would go far to make possible the extended program of the secondary school now advocated by modern educators. The advocacy by both national and state educational organizations for better qualified teachers and higher salary levels, if attained, would go far to make possible the quality of education outlined in this book. A state-wide vote of teachers was recently taken under the sponsorship of the Minnesota Education Association, to determine whether the teachers of the state would resign *en masse* unless a minimum salary schedule adopted previously by a representative group of teachers, under the leadership of the Minnesota Education Association, was put into effect throughout Minnesota. The work of the various vocational organizations has opened the way for federal sup-

port of an elaborate program of vocational education in the several states. There are numerous groups of semi-official educational organizations that have done yeoman's service in advancing the cause of education.

There are other organizations outside the professional sphere that have exercised powerful influences both for and against the program of the school, and consequently for and against the public welfare. It is generally acknowledged that the Prohibition cause was to a very large extent advanced and the eighteenth amendment put over by the "pressure" influence upon the school curriculum of the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League. These organizations exerted influence upon school boards, teachers, textbook companies, and public to insure the teaching at all grade levels of the harmful effects of alcohol and narcotics. These forces are still operative. Only recently, for example, the groups opposed to the use of alcohol and narcotics got a bill through the Minnesota State Legislature which requires all teacher training institutions of the state to offer a course to prospective teachers on the evil effects of alcohol and narcotics.

The Scopes trial in Tennessee in the early twenties over the question of the right of the high school to teach the theory of evolution was representative of "pressure groups" closely identified with community attitudes. Religious groups have very profoundly affected the pattern of education in America. Dancing in the high schools has been prohibited for youths in many communities, because conservative religious groups have been able to crystallize public opinion in opposition to such activities in the school program. It was the conservative religious groups which actively opposed, and in many communities still do oppose, all consideration of the theory of evolution in the schools. Because of the attitudes of religious and non-religious groups the consideration of religion in any form in the schools was prevented.

The Scopes trial and the policy of non-religious instruction in the schools highlights another expression of "pressure group" restriction upon the school—restriction or imposition by legislative enactment. Religious sentiment has been so strong in Tennessee and a few other states that the teaching of evolu-

tion in secondary schools was prohibited by legislative enactment. The tenth amendment to the Constitution and specific legislation in some states have prevented religious instruction in the public schools. Other "pressure groups" have used legislation as a device to have certain subjects taught in the school. After the first world war a wave of hysterical fear swept patriotic groups who had the mistaken notion that patriotism could be assured by a legislative requirement that secondary schools teach the Constitution of the United States. The resort to legislation by other "pressure groups," such as in health and physical education, has seriously jeopardized the possibility of developing a modern secondary school program with sufficient flexibility to meet adolescent needs and interests.

There are powerful business and political "pressure groups" that attempt to influence the programs of our secondary schools with activities that are both helpful and restrictive in nature. The efforts to acquaint youth with the nature of the business world today, the organization and processes of a large manufacturing activity, such as the production of rubber goods, cotton and silk textiles, steel, and automobiles, are greatly facilitated by the descriptive materials prepared by large business concerns as well as by films of producing processes. These are valuable aids to the school. On the other hand, the efforts to control the teaching in the schools concerning the practices of big business in our country, as well as of other controversial issues, are a real threat to our democratic institutions and the freedom of the school to develop constructive critical thinking about our social institutions. The pressures the utility interests, for example, have used to prevent publishers from issuing textbooks that contained unfavorable facts, or discussions of the relative merits of public versus private operation of utilities is a dark chapter in American education. The employment or subsidization of textbook writers to produce secondary textbooks favorable to the utility interests, the extreme efforts employed by these groups to blackball textbooks containing materials unfavorable to them, the use of local community business groups to insure the adoption of the "right" textbooks in the schools, the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars in their efforts to control the teaching in secondary

schools are serious threats to the ideals of secondary education. The record of these activities on the part of large utility corporations are abundantly documented.⁴ An example of political pressure on the teaching in the schools is the notorious episode that took place in the administration of Mayor W. H. Thompson in Chicago in the late twenties. The lengthy School Board hearings on the teaching of history in the Chicago schools paralyzed morale and discouraged efforts to develop critical intelligence among youths in the schools. It was generally recognized that the entire disgraceful fiasco was a political device used by the Mayor to enhance his political fortunes with the voters of foreign extraction who disliked Great Britain. The school personnel and all public spirited citizens should be fully informed on the sinister activities of these "pressure groups."

What attitudes may we take toward these restrictive factors upon the school program? There are many attitudes which can be taken toward these factors that appear to inhibit desirable school programs. Every experienced educator has encountered expressions of attitude that range from complete disgust to courageous determination: "What is the use? The school is constantly hamstrung in its program by people who have axes to grind and won't let the school staff carry on a real school program. I am going into something else where I can do what I think should be done without interference"; "What difference does it make? You haven't a chance to do a real educational job. No use wearing your heart out when you haven't the time, energy, or facilities to do what you know should be done. I am going to go along, try to earn my salary, and not worry"; "I may not be able to do

⁴Every secondary school worker should be familiar with the activities of these pressure groups as described and documented in Pierce, *Bessie Louise, Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, Part III: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. The entire book treats of the activities of major "pressure groups." Chapter XXIII is devoted to the efforts of our public utilities to insure textbook materials favorable to them. A briefer discussion of this problem is given in Chapter XVIII of Beale, Howard K., *All American Teachers Free?* Part III: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. An extended discussion of the basic nature of this problem of pressure groups and its significance for educational, even social, progress is found on pp. 612-778 of this well documented book.

all I know should be done but I will go ahead, do the best I can and maybe help to get some things across in spite of discouragements."

Unfortunately, it is characteristic of people to think that the circumstances surrounding their era of life are different from those of others. It is essential that the educational worker keep his sense of perspective as he faces the many obstacles to the realization of an ambitious, sometimes rather idealistic, secondary school program. The first important consideration that may help to keep perspective in the midst of handicaps is that the school is not alone in its apparent inability to achieve all its ambitious plans. All social institutions of similar kinds face approximately the same limitations. Seldom do they have the facilities they desire or actually need or the financial support to enable them to do all they may aspire to. Lack of competent personnel with vision and initiative is a chronic shortcoming, along with a lethargic public unwilling to provide moral support of the enterprise. Then there is, in every such group, the interference of well-wishers as well as those who are in opposition. It is at least comforting when we are aware that other worthwhile projects are confronted by the same type of hindrances.

It may prove more encouraging still to realize that the obstacles we face are not even peculiar to our day, but are hoary with age. It has become the fashion for many dispirited souls to look back to the "good old days" where "men were men," and selfishness, shortsightedness, and even corruption were practically nonexistent. A hasty but realistic rereading of a little history of human progress, particularly as it relates to education, may help the dispirited to see that the elements of discouragement in generations past were far more formidable than they are today. Yet, men of vision with almost insuperable obstacles confronting them succeeded in the realization of educational programs that today have become their enduring monuments.

Again, it may help us to meet our contemporary problems with better perspective and courage if we honestly recognize that, in our enthusiasm to advance the education of youth, we may be setting up an ideal or utopian program which experience should warn us may not be fully realized. It is of the

nature of youth to be impatient of delay; goals should be quickly reached. Discouragement, disillusionment, and often cynicism follow the failure to reach these goals. "Rome was not built in a day"; social evolution is slow, sometimes painfully slow. It is necessary at times to stand off at a distance, look dispassionately at the total movement of educational progress, and see our program as it fits into that total movement. Only then is it possible to see the unmistakable evidence of our own progress as well as general progress. One must become philosophical at times about one's own efforts.

It may be even more important to the maintenance of a balanced perspective in the presence of the vexing and seemingly needless restrictions upon urgently needed advances in our program of secondary education to ascribe honesty and integrity of purpose to the human equations involved. Honest, even intelligent, people often disagree on issues that may not seem to us to have more than one side. It may be that those blocking our programs do not have the facts, or do not understand the facts. It is possible for people to have the same facts and understand their significance and still disagree. As educators we should be conversant with the psychological principles of learning which suggest that each set of facts, or each situation, is interpreted on the basis of the total background of the experiences of the individual. This should enable us to view with some equanimity the lack of agreement that often exists between ourselves and others who honestly differ with us on the merits of our educational ideas and programs.

The intelligent educational worker will keep clearly in mind those considerations which should determine his fundamental attitudes toward the forces that appear to stymie his cherished educational programs. He will be aware that alertness and a relentless prosecution of every possible means to overcome obstructions are the only means by which cherished educational programs can be brought to fruition. At times a recasting of the framework of the program itself, even significant modifications of important aspects of the program, may be necessary to overcome obstacles. It is necessary to keep in mind another important factor in progress; namely, that of compromise. Compromise is an essential technique of the demo-

cratic process. Sometimes to achieve part of a program is more important than to strive for all and gain none. It is also well in this conjunction to remember the pertinent comment of the late H. G. Wells, "Civilization is in a race between catastrophe and education." Those who believe thoroughly in the education of youth in the principles of democratic living as a means of conserving our democratic institutions and enriching them must maintain an attitude of intelligent optimism and persistent cooperative effort to achieve the best possible program of secondary education for the youth of America.

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Questions and Problems

1. Examine at least one school building and list what you consider to be the inadequacies of the school plant in terms of a modern educational program. Consider, also, the playground space around the building.

2. Draw a plan of a classroom with equipment arranged as you think best for carrying on a modern program in a modern classroom.
3. List several subjects that have had a long struggle to gain respectability in the traditional academic curriculum. What, in the long run, makes a subject "respectable"?
4. What must a teacher know today in order to be successful in comparison with the amount of knowledge about teaching that was necessary twenty-five years ago?
5. Just what is the difference, if any, between "teaching a pupil" and "teaching a subject"?
6. Search writings on education for lists of the qualities pupils will most admire in teachers.
7. Bring to class clippings from newspaper and magazine articles dealing with education. Classify the criticisms made into several categories and examine critically the grounds upon which they rest.
8. Interview two or three teachers to discover what they like or dislike about teaching as a career. Try to find one teacher with, say, three years of experience and one with fifteen or twenty.
9. List as many instances as you can of where local or community prejudice has interfered with the free and full development of a modern school program.
10. Study the state and national recommendations of the Congress of Parents and Teachers to determine whether their groups are ahead of, abreast of, or lagging behind the schools.
11. Why do Americans, who insist upon the latest and most modern conveniences, often insist upon having their children taught just as they were taught twenty-five years before?
12. Present in class a panel discussion on Howard K. Beale's *Are American Teachers Free?* to get an understanding of the many pressure groups that operate in the field of public education.
13. If progress in education strikes you as very slow, read a few educational journals of twenty-five years ago. Notice the problems that occupied the minds of educators at that time.
14. List as many "signs of the times" as you can that really appear to hold forth possibilities for educational progress.

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